000 /1/

First Part

First Approach to the Country and the People

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/3/

I. The Country

A Name

101 The existence of Seksawa, or Iseksawan, is attested to for at least eight centuries in the same valley of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. By this name, now, are recognized among themselves, and distinguished from others, some dozen little communities 101 grouped in the same fluvial basin. These syllables evoke a multi- 619 tude of traits of character, of tradition, of institutions: hence a personality. But no genealogical synthesis at all to account for it. Although the Seksawa legend is not unaware of the theme of the hero, or even of the eponymous ancestor, no explanation of this kind is alleged for the ensemble. The diversity of ancestry, a proclaimed heterogeneity are inseparable from the profession of Seksawa.

101 Hence the name does not imply here any rule of kinship. It is reduced to a simple verbal notation with a content that is

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Fig. 1. -- The Seksawa in relation to the Mediterranean basin.

1: Berque--15 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

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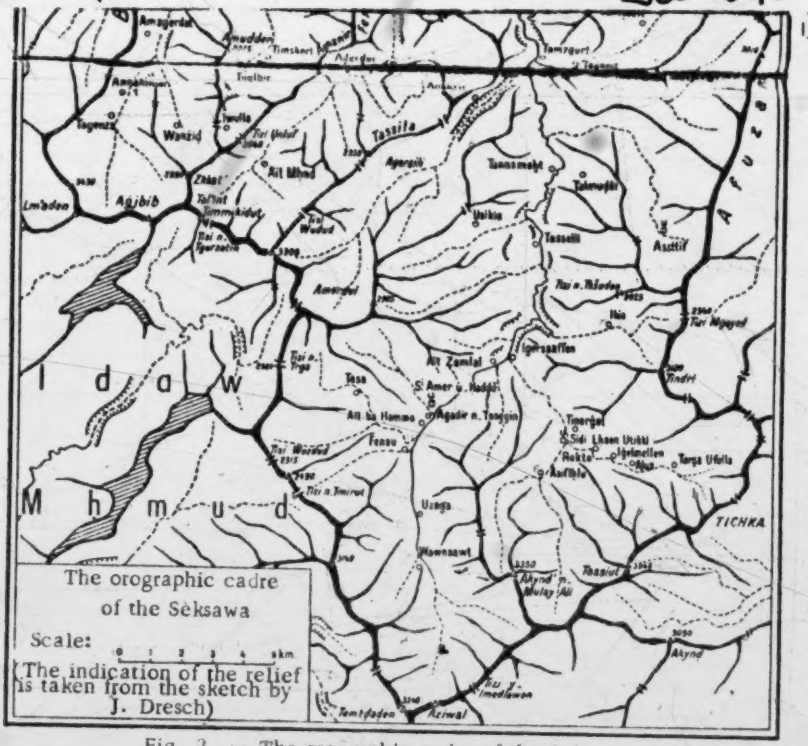
I d a w
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TICHKA
The orographic cadre
of the Sèksawa
Scale:
0 1 2 3 4 5km
(The indication of the relief is taken from the sketch by J. Dresch)

Fig. 2. -- The orographic cadre of the Seksawa.

1: Berque--16 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shlub MW11

/14 cont./

487 gradually becoming opaque. The low valley will be only a cor-
484 ridor, an outlet, an appendix, or any other metaphorical equiva-
804 lent that one might wish to apply to it.
823

Consequently, how much is not explained by either the history of the fourteenth century, which shows us the expansion coming from the highlands, or the more recent history, which has reconstituted on these same altitudes, thanks to the conquering
177 afflux of people from the South, new bases of expansion! /15/ In
178 the same way, the true Seksawa life will only keep its accuracy,
804 in a space with its measure and according to its heart, far from

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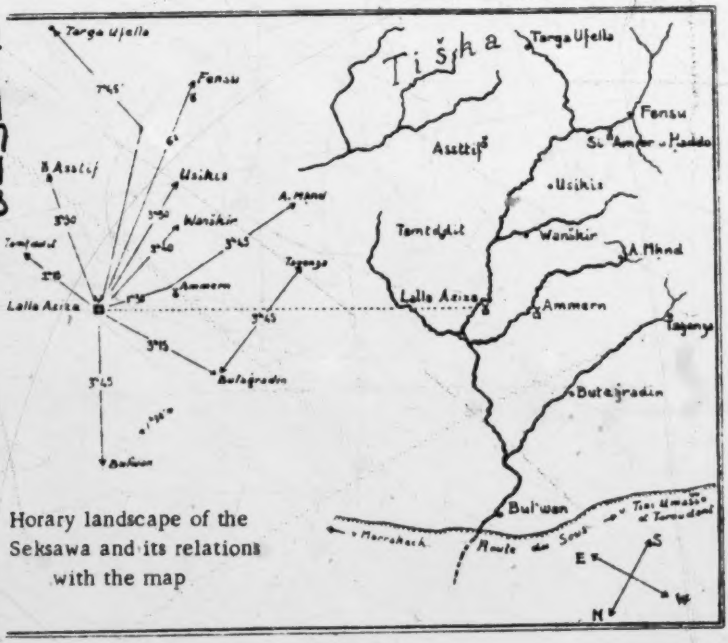

Horary landscape of the Seksawa and its relations with the map

FIG. 3

/From p. 39 in the original source./

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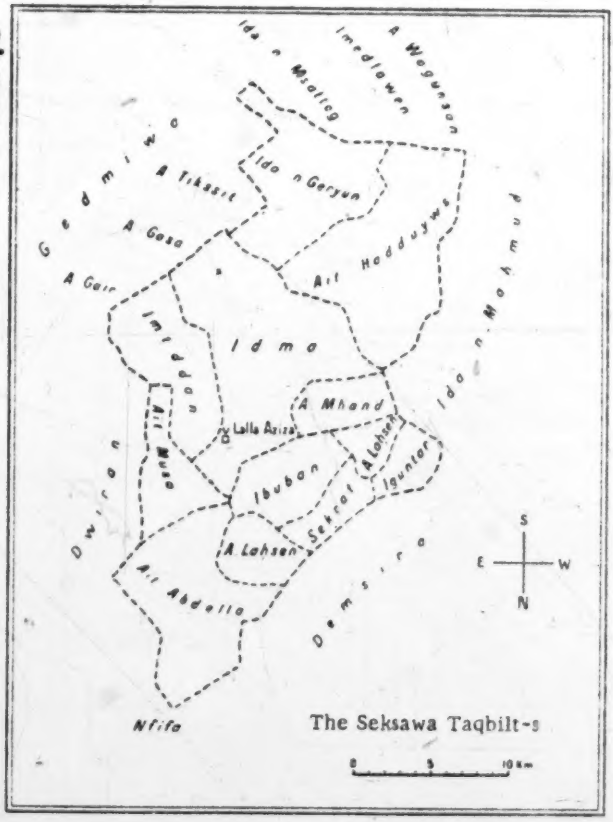

Fig. 4. -- The Taqbilt-s, cantonal division of the Seksawa ensemble

[Idaw Geryun]
[Ait H'adduyws]

/42 cont./

The I. Geryun, with the valley of Uzaga, shelter one of the branches of the most authentic Seksawa lineage: the proper descendants of the kings mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn in the fourteenth century: the a. D'alh'a, whose family archives will furnish important information for this research.

/43/ Ait H'adduyws: "King's Sons"

One goes up the Seksawa by way of a dizzy path on the right bank. After Tasselli, one skirts some cliffs of 200 to 300 meters. Then one descends again, to the confluent of Imi y-Ikis, at the height of which the séguia of the Idma breaks off from the riverbed. The taking of it has already been done by the a. H'adduyws: whence a permanent menace and indeed wars of former times. The path then goes up again. Once the crest has been reached, the Tizi n-Kennas, the panorama of the chain, forming the horizon to the S., lies open at one stroke. It is colossal. The least of these summits, Ras Mulay Âli, Aziwal, Temt'daden, exceed 3,000 meters. At the feet of the traveler, the village of Igersafen, "between two rivers," forms something like the center of a fertile crescent. In fact, two valleys converge there: that of the I. Geryun, descending from the Tichka, where one perceives the grandiose denticulation to the E.; that of the principal branch of the Seksawa, which plunges to the S. and with which our visitor is going to be concerned.

The somber landscape of schist becomes brighter. One is now in limestone tending toward pink and blue. The valley opens into esplanades larger than one will encounter in all the rest of the valley. In the center, a cupola, that of an eponymous saint, or rather that of the eponym's son, this H'addô u Yûsuf, from whom the taqbilt is supposed to have descended. Orthographic snobbery has in fact reacted on the pronunciation. This tends to impose an a. H'addô u Yûsuf which it readily distorts in paroxytone. Yûsuf would be the own son of Ibn Tachfin the Almoravide. Fine improbability. A prudent orthodoxy, but of late epoch, has camouflaged in antedating it by a century, by reference to the

[Idma]
[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /48 cont./
778
634 The domain of the Idma thus embraces the three most important sanctuaries of the upper Seksawa: Ammern to the E., in the extension of the Ad'erd'ur ravine, Assttif to the W., Lalla
[484] Aziza on the bisector. A five-hour walk separates the two extreme sanctuaries. On the other hand, longitudinally, it is necessary to figure four hours between Lalla Aziza and Igersafen. Therefore this domain extends over a space that we could estimate at the value of a whole day's walk in order to be probed in all directions. That is a great deal for a little montagnard state.

619 The Idma are in fact conquerors. "We had only 700 armed
195 men," they say, "when the a. Gasa were double that number.
701 But we conquered them, with the help of Lalla Aziza." In mod-
726 ern times, a regular line of chiefs, alternating among two or
634 three families, could combine the principle of assembly co-opta-
619 tion, the great assemblies of Inraren z'dinin, with the impetus of the individual. The chronicle of these alternations have re-
634 mained for us. Today masters of the territory of three zaouias,
181 having known how to insert themselves smoothly into the French
619 peace, obstinate, proud, miserly, the Idma continue their tenacious aspiration to exist as a group and, in short, their taking in charge the former destiny of the Seksawa.

619 /49/ The Domain of the Ait Lh'sen
174
166 Like the Idma, they are conquerors. They also seem to have arrived from the Sous by way of the Tizi n Trga and, from there,
634 to have swerved toward the N. and the N.-W. up to encountering the high bar of the Bwibaun, limit of the Seksawa toward the W.,
● 131 symmetrical with that of the Afuzar toward the E.

133 To the S., the length of the axial chain, they comprise two
101 cantons entirely similar to the Iguntar and to the a. Mh'nd, be-
634 tween which they are intercalated. These are Iwulla and
619 Wanz'id', backed up to the wall which, from the 3,000 meters of the Zkkat', separates the Seksawa from the I. u Mh'mud. One who looks toward the N. from the flank of the Zkkat' distinguishes three valleys still recent in form and which two bulges of earth separate: the one ending at Amudder, the other constituting the mole of

[Ait Abdella]

/57 cont./

103 A harsh history survives in the toponyms. A squad of saints:
[796] Sidi Rah'h'âl n-a. Ikherrachen at Imi n-tghli, higher the Re-
[792] graga of Talâint and Tiburiin, higher still the marabouts /58/ of Igerwal -- come between a. Âbdella and a. Musa. The characteristics of the toponymy, clinging to a landscape itself very expressive, accentuate this impression of a passage from one world to another: here a ruiniform rock, the "rock of the Fort," Tansmert wugadir, there a wall of stone seeming to close the valley, Lluh'n-Khaddo, which is perhaps "the Table of H'addô," just as higher there will be an Amlal Yah'ya: and all of these names have a possibly historic sonority. Finally, and even more characteristic, the majestic site of the zaouia of Talâint is dominated by a hill called Awrir n-sidi Limam, at the foot of which there is a "hollow" of the Mahdi Tamd'a n-Lmehdi. One knows who this Imam Lmehdi is in the language of the mountains: this is actually Ibn Toumert. This reminder here, at the very spot where another domain is going to begin, which an accessory hagiology, besides the relief and a violent combativity, defended for
184 a long time, is to be contemplated. The bond of this country of transition with the people of Tuz'z'umt and Bul^{c}wân can only be
[167] artificial. Visibly this world is without unity. Its ikhs-s, one will see, are heteroclites. They call themselves recent occupants; and by title of immigrants and buyers rather than conquerors.

133 To the E. of this section of valley, confused marly hills ex-
131 tend their yellowish glaciated rock to the base of the calcareous
634 entablatures, russet and graven at the summit, where the Dwiran domain begins. Again, a former no man's land /in English in the original source/, where, still in the memory of man, hordes of brigands, some of whom came from the Sous, ransomed at will or even assassinated shepherd or traveler. Today, a zone of pastureland between tribes, where significantly the Idma have acquired,
133 or recovered, the right of usage. This mass of alfa steppe, which
634 toward the S., at the approaches to Z'init', is famous for a huge ring of polished stone, with tumulus in the center, the tarrut' n-Lala Aziza, has been mentioned above. The saint,

1: Berque--117 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

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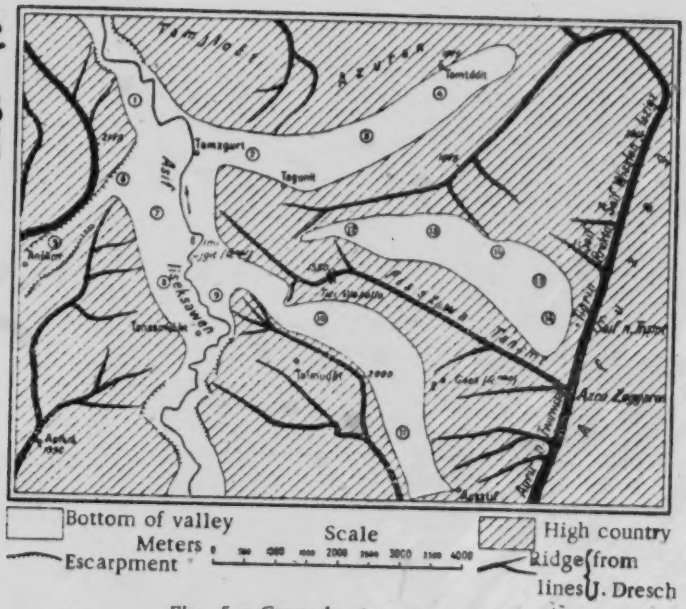

Fig. 5 - Grounds of the Moyen-Seksawa

1. Tagasit. — 2. Agella w-ad'o. — 3. Tamlelt. —
4. Igherm. — 5. Imaranan. —6. w-izgaren. — 7. i-yggiz. —
8. Jjgit. — 9. Tisserdan. — 10. Amlal i-ykiram. —
11. Imi Wussttif. — 12. Tighrin. — 13. Tannsmt. —
14. Rekto. — 15. Amlal n-Gâer. — 16. Tkerni.

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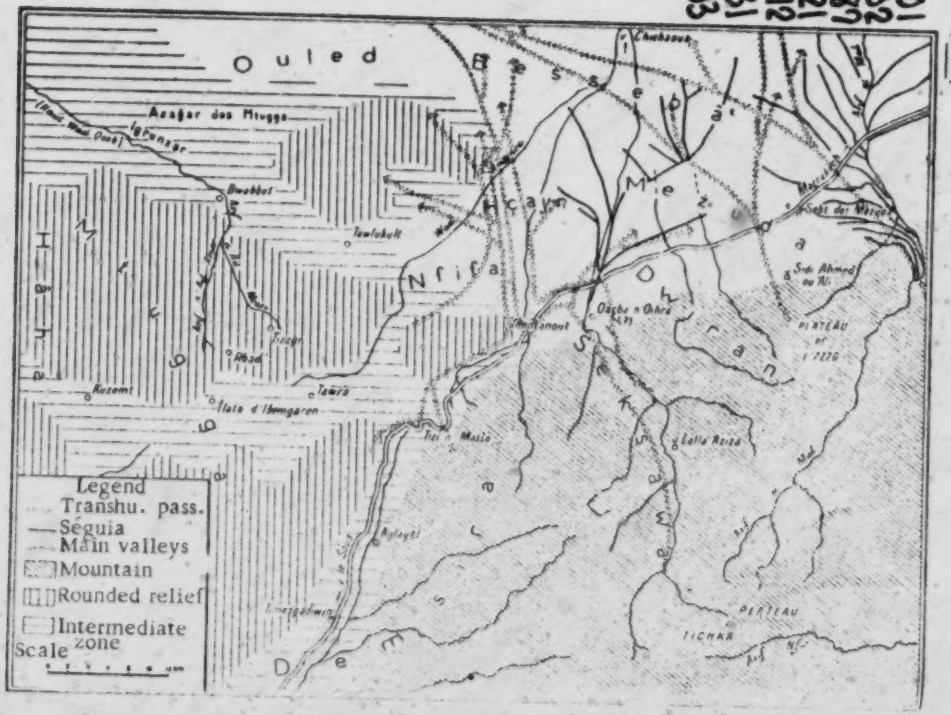

Fig. 6. -- Plain-mountain liaisons

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1: Berque--138 - Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/125 cont./

133 241 the beds of torrents, cut by progressive edges, the vast grassy epaulement terraces, answered by the acuity of the axial chain: each of these tiers inspires a new figure of the field, of the agriculture, of the law, and of the customs.

But to this world of horizontality thus contrived by nature in the bosom of the mountains is opposed another where the vertical, the oblique, the overhang prevail. It is that of the irrigated ground, constructed by man. It is all in redans, circumvallations. Walls and terraces, scaling the slope, superimpose their small, careful planes. The ensemble contrasts by color, character, toponymic density, and human presence with what surrounds it. There is the major type of this economy and also of this history. The irrigated ground is not only a material substrate. It is a social symbol (1).

(121)

1. In the exact sense defined for this term by G. Gurvitch, La vocation actuelle de la sociologie /The present vocation of sociology/, 1950, p. 74.

241 Let us observe the ensemble called Bukhemsin, where each group of the a. Lh'sen has its share. It is spread out on the left bank, between Awinas and Buteghradin, at mid-flank of the ascent, and is made up of two planes, which the path cuts diagonally. We are in March. A luxurious vegetation of barley is already starting to form ears. No break in the mass. Only by sweeping light do some differences in level appear there, depending upon the amount of manure that the different owners have supplied. It is with difficulty if an expert eye distinguishes in a quarter so homogeneous the 150 parcels that compose it. Such a distinction, to one who has no preconceived idea of it, proves impossible. It is at the very base of the barley stalks, and completely hidden by the sprouting, that /126/ ideal boundaries creep: abstract lines, of which only the angles are indicated by a modest stone driven into the earth, awuttu, plur. iwutta.

(131) (423)

[Taqennurt]

/216 cont./
613 vicissitudes and against all outside interventions: in the case in
423 point, six centuries of powers of the plain, in open struggle
241 against the montagnard system.

c) The confines: Lh'emri, Inzzūyma

619 Downstream from Taqennurt, the Seksawa bounds are promptly limited by those of the Dwiran. A terrain quite poorly irri-
131 gated today, Lh'emri, having become more or less the appanage of the local chiefs, terminates them. Higher, it is the hillocks of Inzzūyma, common to the W. with the Nfifa. Here therefore we are in a zone of confines.

195 The middle Seksawa valley was formerly occupied by the
619 Demsira. This was not the case for Bulᶜwân, the landed traditions of which go back to some Ida u Blal. It is the former who were replaced farther downstream by the Ud Bessebâᶜ, whose first hamlet bears a significant name, Ad'uwar. The Arabic "douar," in contrast to the "village" of the Chleuh /Shluh/. All of this sector was devastated by struggles between tribes. Also, it was intercessors from the Seksawa valley, Ammern "marabouts" in particular, whom it behooved initially to swarm in from this side in order to bar the route to strangers. At Ad'uwar the Talh'archt and Tasbâit channels meet: this is a knot of waterways toward the plain.

Here one is in the domain of decadent, "shattered" history. A large portion of the Lh'emri today is domainal, and rented, at a rate of principle, to the amghar-s of the a. Abdella. Let us understand that this was a no man's land /the italics are in English in the original source/, theater of competitions of tribes, and of the expansion of the appanages. It is not there that one should look for a rural order.

133 To the E., toward Imintanout, a bulge of terrain sinks in /217/ a triangle between the valleys of the asif-s Seksawa and Imintanout. That would appear quite clearly to one who climbs
423 the slope of the Urkus. It is a matter of the ground of the Inz-
619 zūyma equally claimed by the a. Abdella and the neighboring
(659) Nfifa. The administration has consolidated and almost balanced

[Demsira]
[Nfifa]

/220 cont./

613 423 and tools of the power of the plain, the Irohalen, region on a slope, without good irrigation, Permo-Trias reddening, the landed property distributes the ten ikhs-s, including Tamarut marabouts, over the different grounds: for example, "the field of the King," Iger ugellid, a nice cereal piece at the junction of the routes from the Sous and the H'âh'a, Awrir-an and the rounded hill below Ddusyan, reputedly fertile for wheat. A system of rents compensates for the risks of drought or of a bad harvest. In sum, sector with an eventful constitution and history, which is organized to the best of its rather precarious nature, but visibly according to the lines observed in more intact grounds.

613 312 [133] /221/ 4) A. Mh'and u Musa. Narrow affluent valley of the asif i-ymintanut. Law notably cross-checked for the villages of Ergtajelt (9 quarters), Aghella (8), Bwiugra (11). The irrigation is always administered by ikhs, but unequally, the ikhs-s having unequal rights according to the quarters. Finally, the law is felt and formulated.

... Nfifa...

619 [131] Tribe completely of the piedmont. Occupies, besides the outlet of the col on the plain (Imintanout), the lower valley of the Amejnes and a "mountain" which is the North reverse of the Lemgo, as well as a plain on the confines of the Mtugga.

619 423 [634] 1) In this latter domain was observed the working of the distribution of land. It is the taqbilt called Wad l-Ibûr. Seven aᶜz'âm form it, all allogeneous. Not one autochthon. One of them, the a. Ali Umbarek, has its crops grouped upstream, mixed with those of the a. Abdnnur, "people of the mountain." But the 6 others are impeccably represented in each quarter. Besides, they are the ones that are designated, excluding the former, by a collective name: a. i-ymiz'z'er. The conflict between the rûle of topographical distribution and possession, invoked by the a. Ali, who have all the crops massed around the source, gives rise to numerous clashes. In 1950 a transaction made allowances for things and combined the two systems to the

[578]

/240 cont./

184 This immediate datum is thrust upon the observer as on the users. In addition, for the analysis, it will be the best of the bases of departure.

Admittedly, difficulty begins almost at once. For if one indeed sees the basic unity, contrasting with the vehemence of the personalities that stand out from it, the investigation fails to press the contrast harder. For example, we do not know the Gedmiwa, a group of antiquity as venerable as the Seksawa, well enough for the comparison between the two to go beyond the plane of simple description. It is not yet possible to define seriously the culture of this Moroccan South-West, which asserts itself by characters as tangible as the speech or the very figure of the inhabitant. It is not yet possible to state precisely or to explain how, out of this homogeneity, particularisms /241/ sufficiently lively for their exchanges to be ordered in relations of extemal law are articulated.

131 [133] Here between the Lemgo, the Kattos, and the Atlasic arête is a mountainous quadrilateral some thirty kilometers on a side as the crow flies. At least four juridical identities are crowded there: Nfifa, Demsira, Dwiran, and Seksawa. And each one in turn is subdivided.

619 [585] [691] [695] The consistency of the amerwas, "matrimonial gift," the effective force of coswearers imposed according to the gravity of a litigation go from simple to double if the litigants do not belong to the same unit. Today the unit is the "tribe": Seksawa, Dwiran, etc. But this can also be, more authentically, what we 619 call the "fraction," that is, the taqbilt. And there are seven or 634 eight of them merely in Seksawa. Thus, in Demsira, the rate of 585 the amerwas varies according to four zones which apply the regime of exteriority to one another. In the case of a girl given [184] to a Mtuggi, the chchard', stipulated marriage-settlement for the benefit of the bride, includes in certain taqbilt-s, and not in 619 others, the obligation for landed property. In land matters, 634 extracantonal testimony is not secured. Avowed reason: because 691 the foreigner could not be well informed. But, obviously, it is [186] because the group prizes its juridical integrity. Between different [184]

/xiii cont./

121 thus be necessary to multiply the investigations in the regions where they seem bound to give the best results and to assemble gradually the information received.

• [131] [133] In a land as large as a quarter of France, still poorly known, to the point where maps sometimes are almost entirely absent, we therefore at first interested ourselves in distinguishing and examining separately the various natural groupings whose boundaries are traced rather well by the geographical arrangement of the great mountain chains and valleys: western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, zone of the coastal plateaus, valley and interior plain of the Sous, chain of the Anti-Atlas, Sirwa, high valleys of the Dra and the Dadès.

121 127 114 Within each of these territories, taking advantage of favorable political circumstances and the progress of French penetration, we tried to multiply our inquiries in the form of monographs as complete as the duration of our stay would permit (1).

1. The list of the monographs prepared will be found on p. 424 /sic, perhaps p. 421 is meant; see pp. 539-540 in the translation/; part of them have remained unpublished.

121 114 Sometimes we found ourselves in regions entirely subdued, in the vicinity of the coast, under the sometimes uneasy surveillance of native chiefs; sometimes we chose the cantons of the high valleys scarcely touched yet by our arrival, where the modest, but confident welcome of minor Berbère notables facilitated our task; at other times, finally, we had to fly over the dissident tribes, to learn to know their territory, their chiefs, their traditions, and their history by means of informants chosen from each of these small republics, to which direct access was closed to us.

Thus, it was by visiting the mountain hamlets one after the other, by spending long evenings in the chamber reserved for

/8 cont./

101 land peopled by Masmouda, to the West of the passes of the
133 Glawa, from the one that, more to the East, as far as the passes of the Izoughar, is inhabited by the sedentary Senhaja established for long centuries around the summit of the Ighil Mgoun
[197] /Ighil M'Goun/. Besides, the modes of speech of the latter differ somewhat from the "tachelhaît" /Tashelhit/ of the Sous and already present some characteristics of transition with those of the seminomads of the Beraber group. If, on the contrary, one stuck to the conditions of existence and to the way of life, the passages of the Izoughar, in the vicinity of the land of the transhumants, should serve us as boundary.

The vagueness of the Sous boundaries is the same in the cultivated valley of the Dadès, which is connected by a continuous series of gardens to the one of the Haut-Dra /upper Dra/ and, like it, forms a kind of melting pot where the sedentary peoples of the mountains of the North and of the West come to merge with the seminomads of the steppes of the South and of the East. One can acknowledge that this line of gardens, 250 kilometers long and scarcely a few hundred meters wide, constitutes at the same time a transition country and a boundary, beyond which one enters the land of the Saghro on the territory of the Ait ʿAtta, brothers of the Ait Yafelman montagnards of the central Atlas and of the Zayan.

121 /9/ Circumstances did not allow us to pursue our investiga-
101 tions in the mountainous region of the Ighil Mgoun as far as the passes of the Izoughar. Accordingly, although the populations that inhabit it have experienced an evolution similar to that of the Atlas Occidental, and we believe one can explain by the same rules the different transformation of their political life, we shall limit ourselves to including in the number of the mountain tribes of the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group those that belong to the Masmouda family and whose territory extends from the Atlantic up to the Tizi n Fedghat, which connects the land of the Skourra with Demnat /Demnate/ a little to the east of the pass of Telwet.
• [131] Thus the Sous includes all the mountain territories of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, Anti-Atlas, and Sirwa between the Dra and the Ocean, as well as the interior plain that is enclaved there.

491 /17 cont./
184 distinct part that their inhabitants took in the great historic events of the Moroccan South.

491 Actually, it is on the road of the passes that the passage of
178 tribes and the action of the Makhzen /makhzan/ have had the result, for centuries, of destroying the local institutions and of making these natural routes, from a political point of view, a sort of extension of the plain into the middle of the mountains.
[643] The Sultan has his harkas advance upon this line of stopping
[619] places, marked out by casbahs, when he wishes to intervene in the life of the country; leaders who serve the cause of the Empire are born and grow up there, while in solitude, in their inaccessible valleys, the independent tribes, on the other hand, unite in order to see to the defense of their borders.

619 Such is the group formed by the tribes of the Glawa, Ourika,
491 Ghighaya, and Ouzgita of the Haut-Tifnout in the difficult re-
131 gion bounded on the east by the Tizi n Fedghat and on the west by the Tizi n Test. A broad massif, whose summits reach
133 4,300 meters in altitude at the Wanoukrim and at the Likoumt, dominates all this part of the mountains; it contains the glacial lake of Ifni, and the snows of its plateaus give birth to torrents everywhere. On the two versants narrow and encased valleys break away, in which a man is as though crushed by a too-powerful Nature. Nowhere in the Atlas does one experience so
133 strong an impression of isolation as in the villages of the Ourika
361 or of the Haut-Tifnout, lost under the giant walnut trees bathed
619 by the cold waters from the summits. The presence of the Telwet
491 pass alone gives some life to this harsh country, situated apart
648 from the great historic currents, and one understands that its inhabitants, once subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, had no role other than to give their support to foreign leaders, masters of the Haut-Dra or of the plain of Marrakech, or they put their stubborn energy at the service of the masters of the great pass, called by their ambitions to faraway enterprises in the steppes of the south.

491 Between the road that leads from the Nefis to the Tizi n Test
133 and the one that leads from Imi n Tanout to the Tizi Maᶜcho there extends another region whose appearance is less harsh and less wild.

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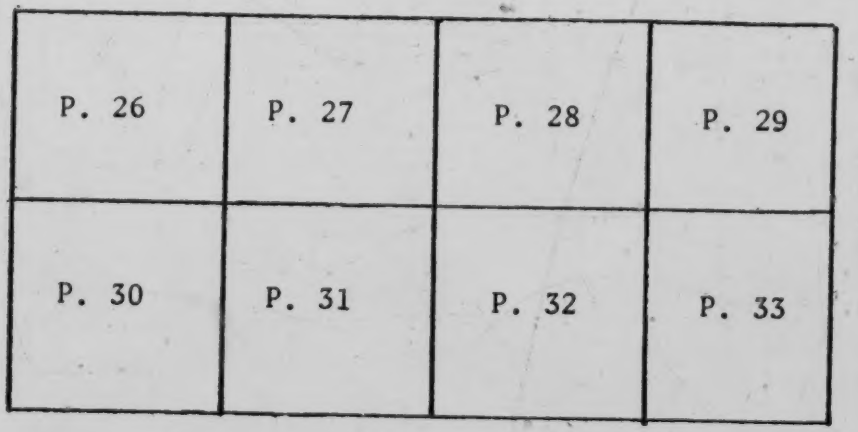
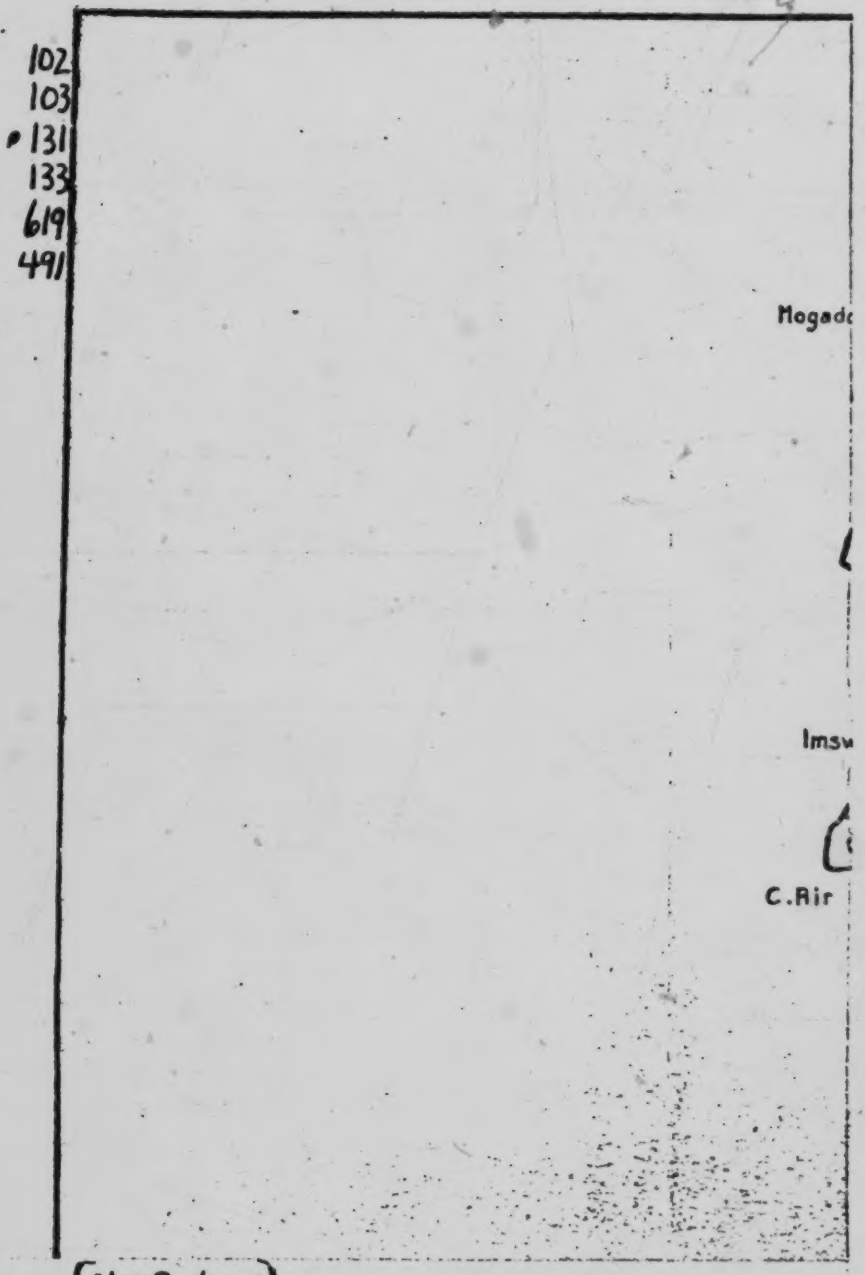


Chart of positions of map 1.
[facing p. 26]

2: Montagne--26 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper left corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/



[Map 1]

/Upper left-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

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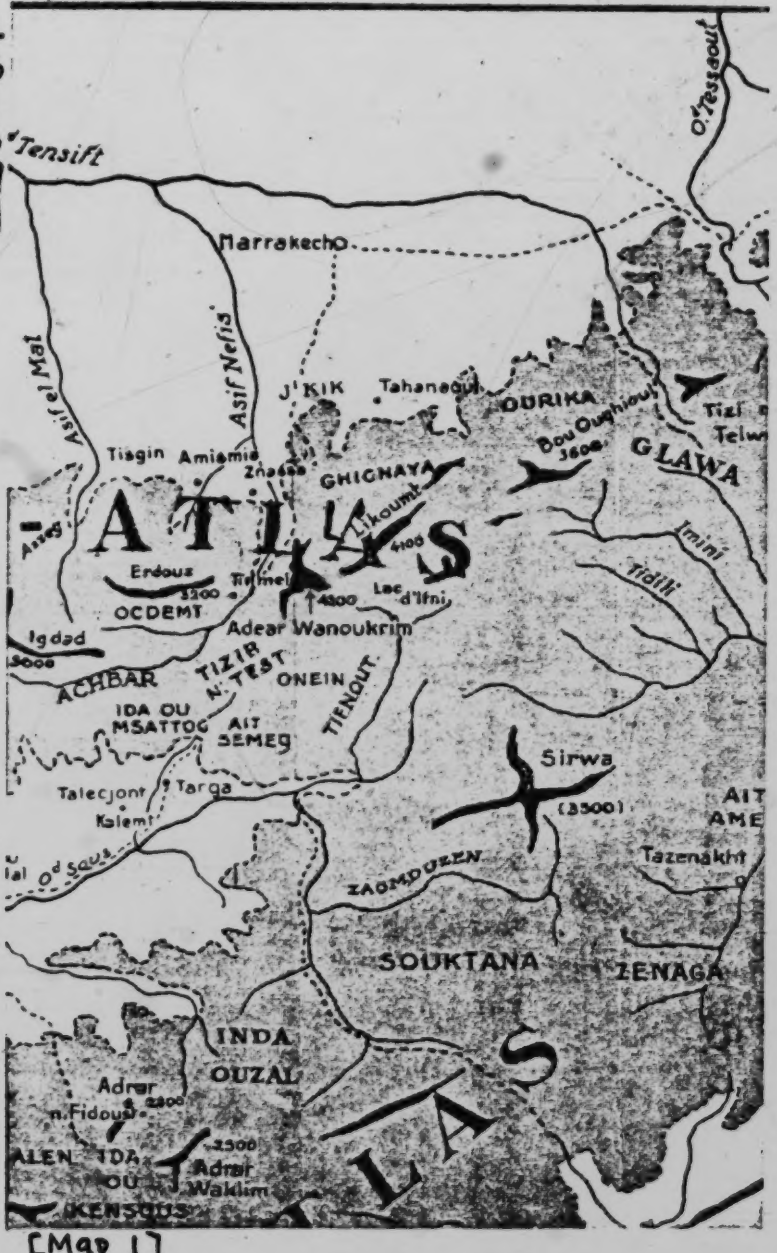

[Map 1]

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[Map 1]

2: Montagne--30 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower left corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

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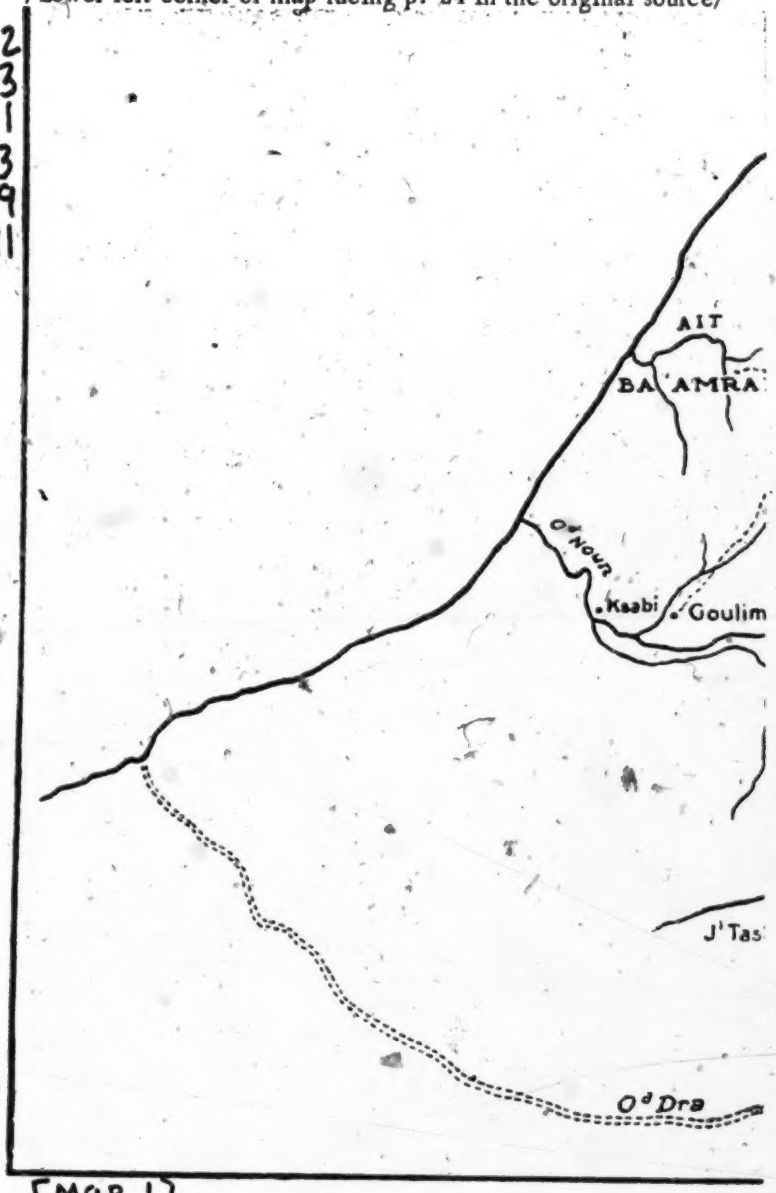
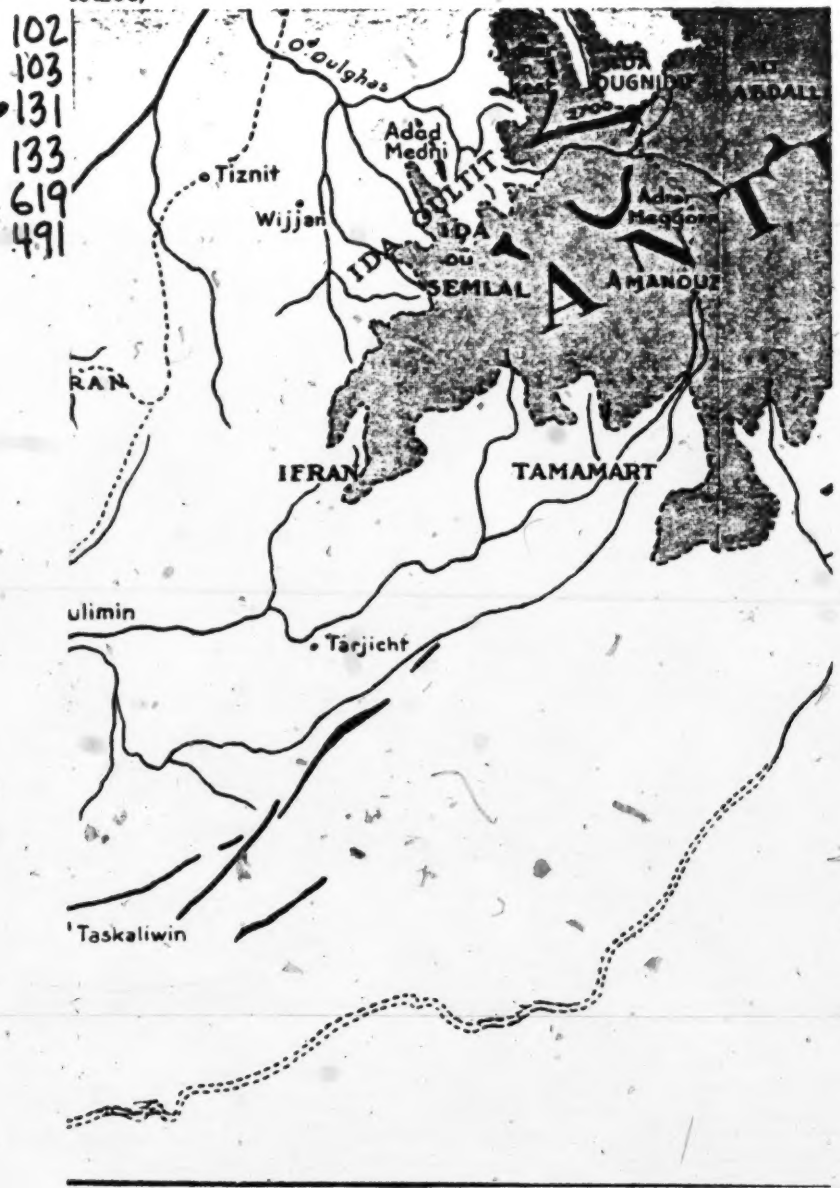


[MAP 1]

/Lower left-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/



[MAP 17]

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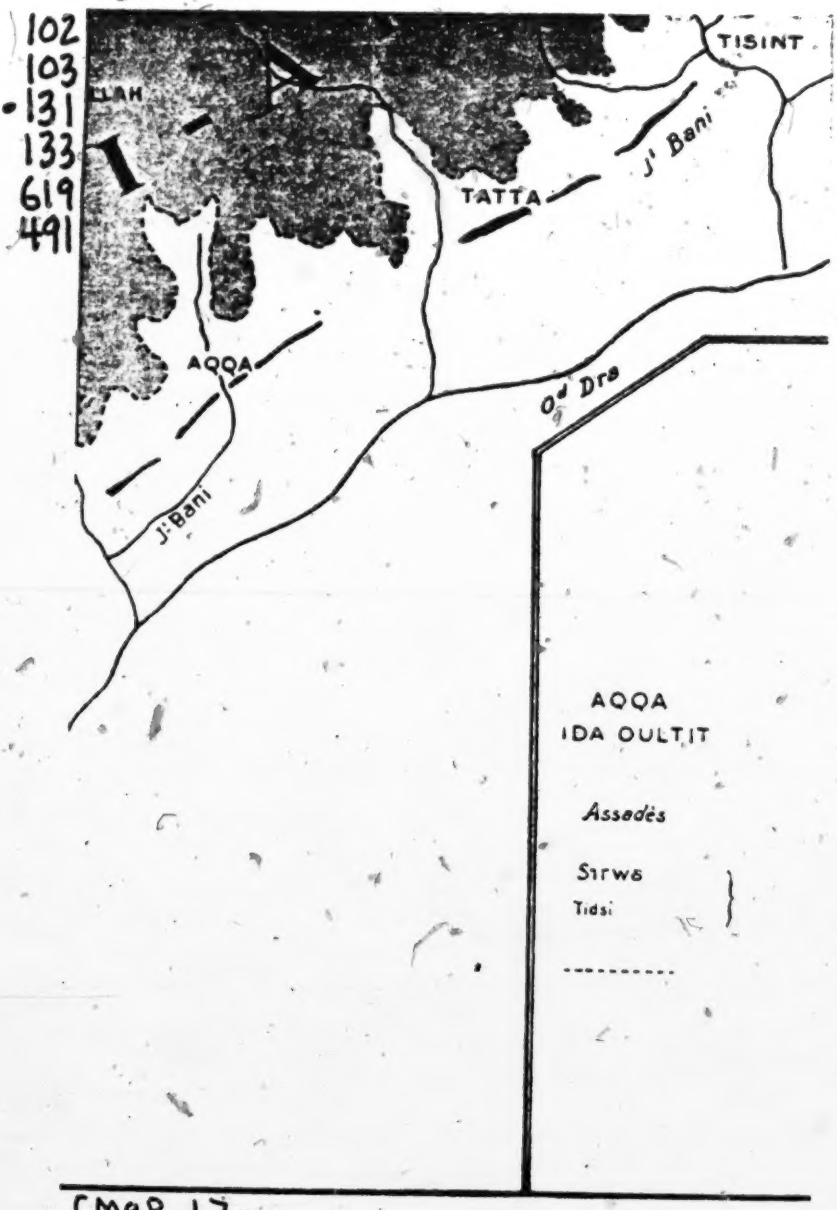

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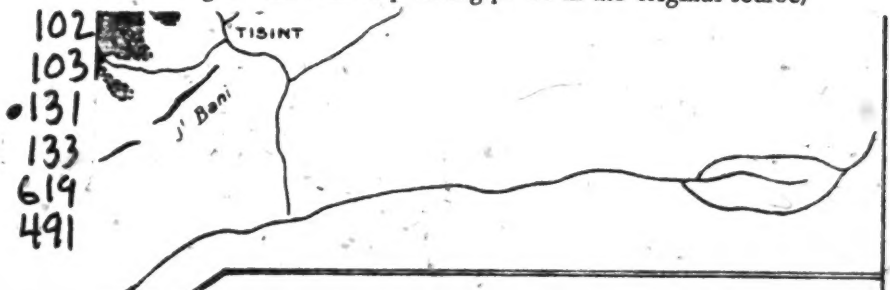

The Province of the Sous
Physical Map

Scale $\frac{1}{1,000,000}$

AQQA
IDA OULTIT — Name of district or of Tribe

Assadés — Name of oued /wadi/

Sirwa
Tidsi — Name of mountain or of Place or Town

---------- Path of communications

The shaded region is the one whose altitude is higher than 1000 m.

[Map 1)

/128 cont./

133 Toward the South, on the contrary, the sudden fall of the /129/ rampart of the Atlas allows us to perceive almost at our feet the interior plain of the Sous and of the Chtouka, bordered by the mountains of the Anti-Atlas; to the East, the two chains seem to meet at the bottom of the Sous valley to form the strange mass of the Sirwa volcano.

133 *631 619 While showing us the line of the summits of the Atlas, our companions from the high valleys will indicate to us without hesitation three groups of populations of unequal importance, which have preserved their independent institutions up to our day. Very far from our observation post, between the sea and the Bibaoun pass, stands the confederation of the Ida Ou Tanan, attached for centuries to its republican organization. At our feet exists a huge mountain region remaining free, which embraces the double fan of torrents descending from the two versants of the Tichka; this territory brings together all the tribes of the former confederation of the Genfisa, to whom have been added some fractions of the Gedmiwa at the foot of the Igdad. Far to the East it is the little communities of the Aït Waouzgit, lost on the flank of the Sirwa, in the midst of the conquests of the Glawa, and which in a miraculous isolation still preserve an autonomy that is precarious but rather close to their independence of former times. Finally, the Anti-Atlas, whose capricious line masks the desert from us, also possesses, especially in its western part, between the summits of the Jebel Kest and the sea, numerous tribes that obstinately remain attached to their traditions. They oppose the undertakings of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the great chiefs with a resistance that up to the present no one has yet been able to break.

*631 619 IV. The life of the Berbère /Berber/ republics. -- Let us try to understand the peculiar physiognomy of each of these bastions in which the Berbères /Berbers/ have concentrated their efforts in order to escape the conquest of their country so often attempted by the sultans or mountain lords. In a region of difficult access, [361] in the middle of the great tabular plateaus that prolong to the • [131] south the region of the Haha, or on the last jagged crests of the

/129 cont./

*631 619 [361] [131] Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the vicinity of the Ocean, the confederation of the Ida Ou Tanan has united for several centuries around the tomb of a venerated marabout, Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli, some thirty fractions determined at all times to defend their independence. Divided into three equal tribes, which have retained their autonomy and their particular constitution, /130/ it forms a balanced organism whose true bond appears to be the will to resist any attempt at foreign penetration. In the East of [198] the territory it is the Aït Ou ᶜazzoun, the ones best protected from external influences in the most mountainous region; they have kept the traditional political regime of councils of notables, who still each year, following a precise ceremonial, according to rites several times secular, carry out a circuit of justice throughout the country, in order to penalize crimes and offenses and to settle all disputes. In the West the Aït Tinkert, commanded for at least a century by independent chiefs to whom the title of "amghar" is given, assisted by minor village chiefs who are loyal to them, border the coastal caravan route and jealously prohibit foreigners from entering the country. The last group of the South is made up of minuscule units that sometimes govern themselves as small republics, like the Aït Wanoukrim and the Iberouten, sometimes obey, like the Ifesfasen, "amghars" whose authority is tempered by assemblies.

The Ida Ou Tanan, shut up in a voluntary isolation, thus [648] form a striking contrast with the subject region of the Haha, administered through our good offices, whose trails today advance as far as the frontier of these irreducible montagnards. They seem like late witnesses of a past long forgotten. Nevertheless this contrast has not always existed; in former times, the oldest old men of the country still remember, the turbulent tribes of the South of the Haha also used to live in a state close to independence. The great kaid El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi had had to bend them to his authority before leading them to the conquest of the Sous, and, later, each time that the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ weakened, the Ida Ou Tghoumma, Aït ᶜAmer, Aït Aᶜissi, Ida Ou Bouzia evinced for their ancient customs an

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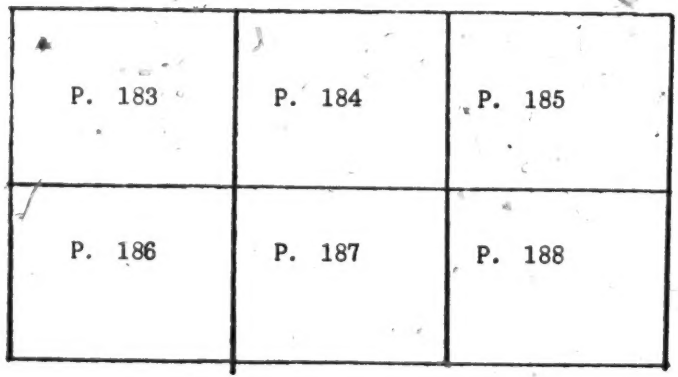

Chart of position of map 2.
[facing p. 183]

/Upper left corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

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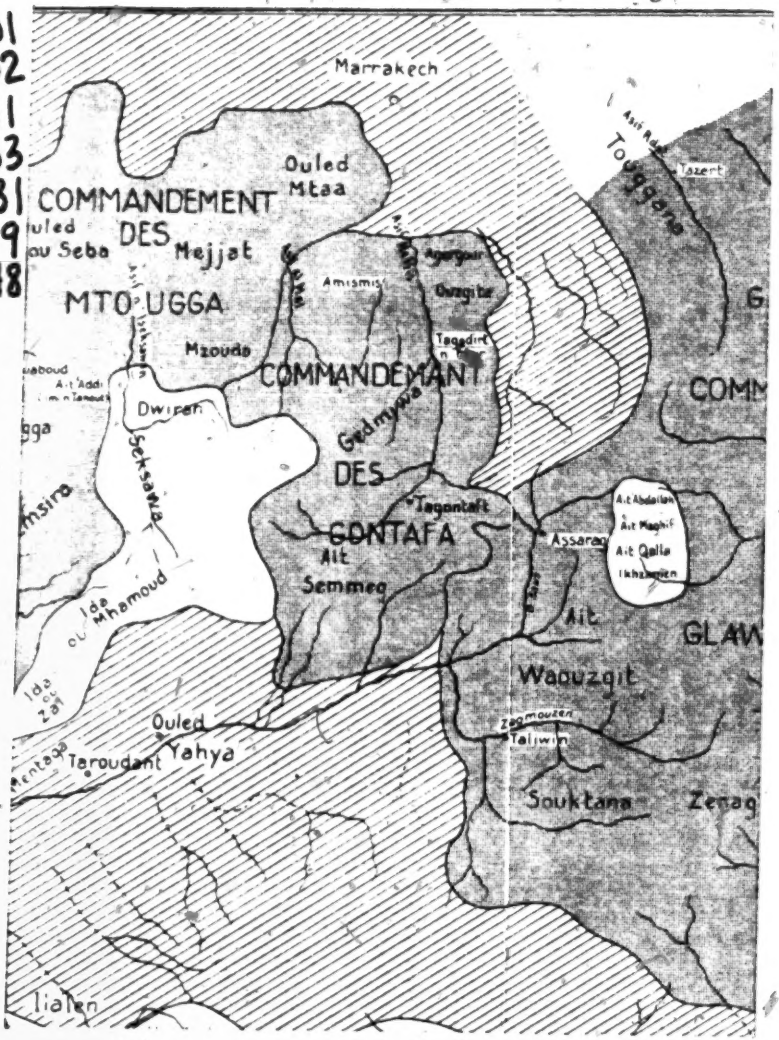

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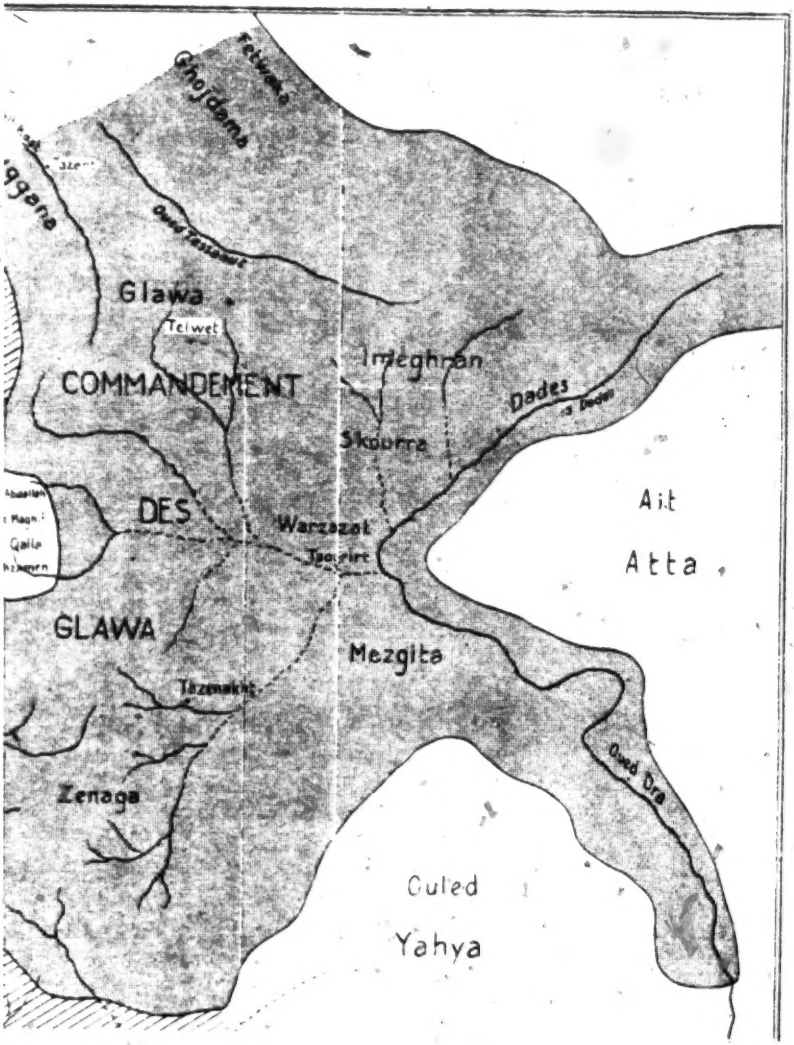

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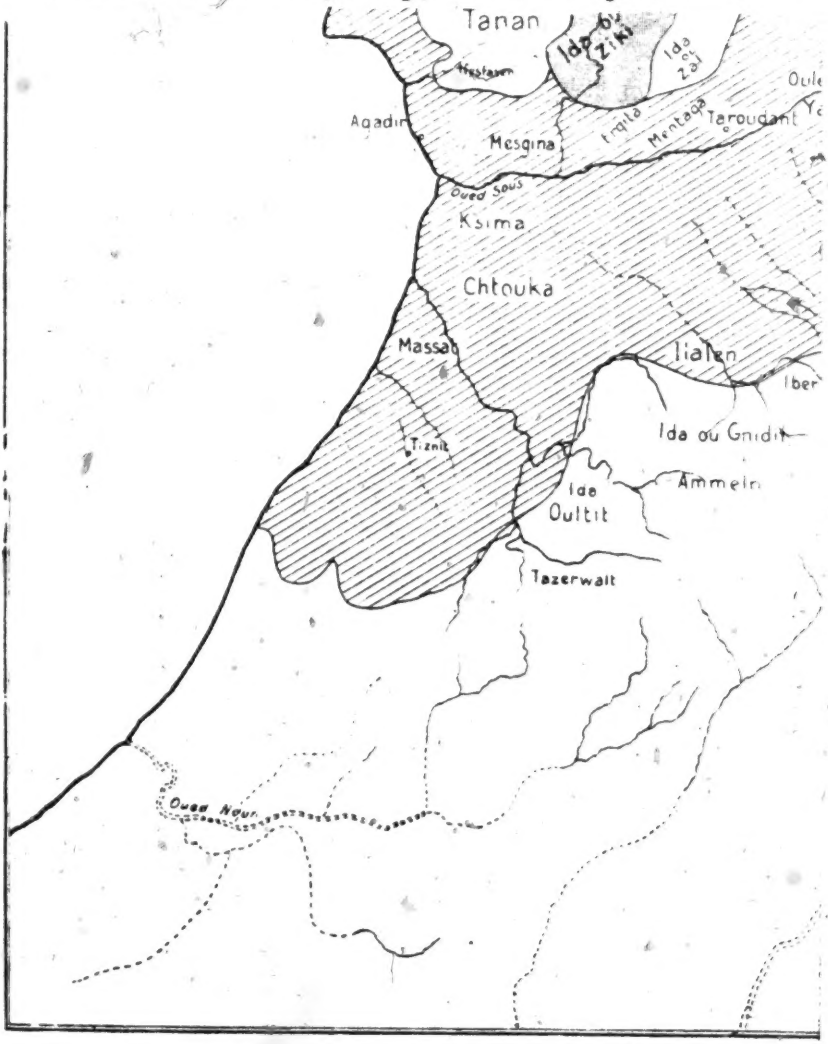

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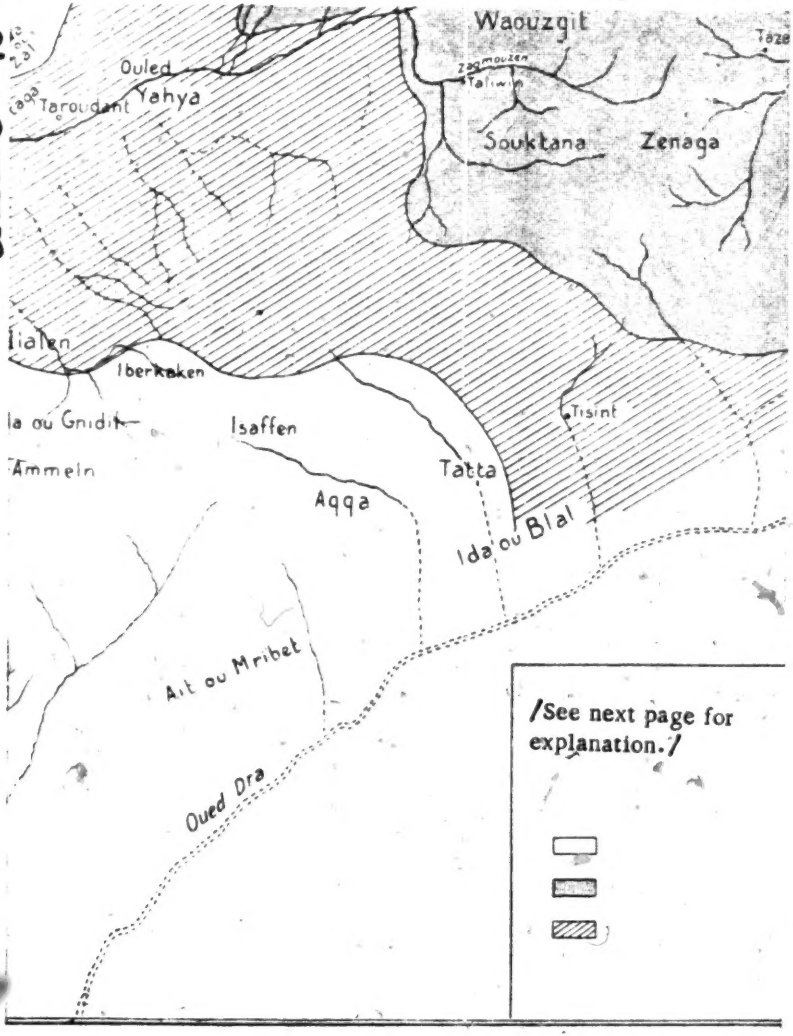

2: Montagne--188 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

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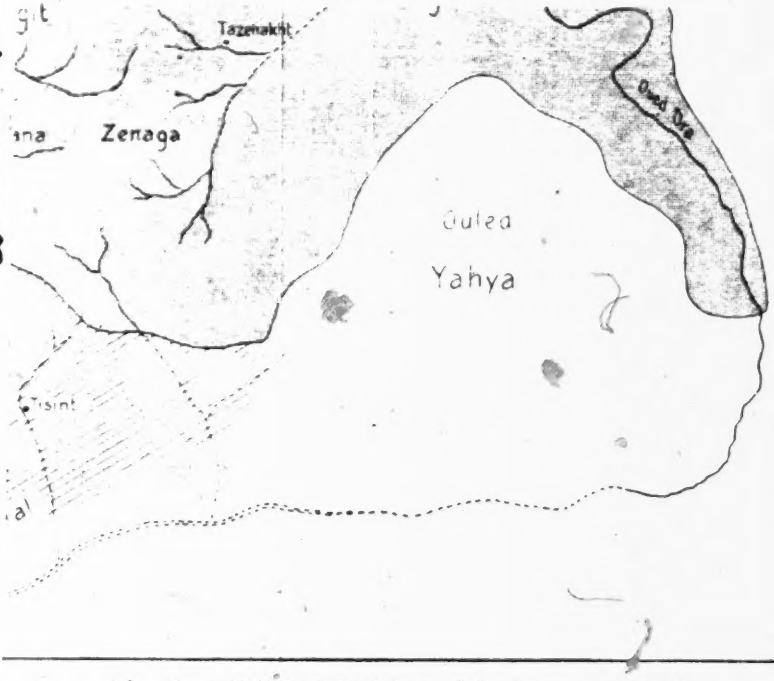

The Great Political Divisions of the Moroccan South
(Haut Atlas, Plain of the Sous, Anti Atlas, Dra)

Scale 1/1,800,000

Territory of the independent or autonomous Republics.

Commands /Commandements/ of the Great Kaids:
Mtouggi, Gontafi, Glawi

Zone of direct administration by the Makhzen
(Minor Kaïds and Sheiks).

/147 cont./

121 transformed /148/ in our day by the Makhzen, the old men who
124 have lived the life of yore, will be our surest guides; better than the servants of the kaids, who know above all the divisions established in the tribes with a view to facilitating the assessment of taxes, they will be able to help us discover the social structure of the Berbère /Berber/ country.

121 Rapid inquiry permits seeing, as a matter of fact, that the
• 131 boundaries of the great commands do not correspond in any way
*631 to natural divisions; these frontiers usually follow the traditional boundaries of the tribes, but since they have been fixed by conquest, it also happens that they share in an arbitrary manner a territory formerly undivided; finally, in the very interior of regions placed under the authority of one of the powerful kaids of the mountains one observes the presence of small states, numerous and entangled, some superposed on others, whose long existence, attested to by local history, shows us past activity and
121 tenacious vitality. The same structural complexity also appears
*631 in the Berbère /Berber/ regions directly subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ -- such as the country of the Haha, the plain of the Chtouka, as well as in all the rallied or dissident Anti-Atlas. It is these small units, which the often arbitrary organization of the command has not always respected, which merit holding all our attention here.

621 The small groups out of which Berbère society is made up can
*634 be classed according to their degree of importance: the simplest
632 is the hamlet or village; the villages frequently combine to form the unit to which we customarily give the name of subfraction in
*631 our administrative terminology; several subfractions or some ten
619 villages constitute a small elementary state, which one generally designates by the term of fraction and to which we shall here give by preference the name of "canton"; a union of fractions, three or four, sometimes eight or ten, takes the name of tribe; a group of tribes or a considerable aggregate of fractions -- twenty or thirty -- that of confederation.

Although a confederation is divided into tribes, a tribe into fractions, a fraction into subfractions, and a subfraction into

/153 cont./

*634 states are stable, have traditional borders, and do not contain
166 within their frontiers any foreigner who might refer to "brothers"
609 of a neighboring fraction.

A territory of eight to ten kilometers in diameter, three or
632 four "mouda^{c}" that gather together in all the population of about
*634 15 hamlets, at other times only one or two large villages, like those found in the summit region, in all two to three hundred hearths, thus suffice in order to constitute a small autonomous
*634 Berbère /Berber/ republic and to form a "canton." The borders
•131 of this canton are not always established according to the natural geographical borders; if each high valley most often has its "taqbilt," it is because the country's natural division into compartments is set precisely at the dimensions that correspond to a small state of a few hundred families; but when it is a matter of a long watercourse, such as the Ogdemt, the Aghbar, the Asif Nefis, the Asif el Mal, each small state carves out the area that it needs in the valley and establishes itself in its way within the too-large borders traced out by Nature.

*634 It is indeed the unity of the territory, the concern for defend-
619 ing it or increasing it that create among the families of the same canton a lasting social bond; and not, as the natives themselves often believe, the feeling of a common origin. Even though the name given to the taqbilt (Aït Lhasen, Aït ^{c}Abdallah, Aït Mousa) tends sometimes to make one suppose that all its inhabitants are the sons of a /154/ common ancestor, it is easy to see that this belief is pure illusion. We have mentioned the importance of the
*634 economic factors that create even within the Sous region a constant
166 human circulation. The high mountains in the region that we are studying here do not escape these population movements; it even seems that the ethnic "brassage" /mixing, stirring/ might be more active here. In one of the cantons of the Aghbar, among the Aït Lemsour, for example, out of 17 families or "ikhs" settled in the country, not one considers itself autochthonous; in the neighboring country of the Seksawa, which the inhabitants of the plain are apt to regard as the territory of a very ancient tribe, one finds pell-mell families that came from other mountain tribes of

/154 cont./

*634 166 the vicinity or even from the Azaghar of Marrakech, from the valley of the Sous, from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/. A little more to the West, the territory of the Ida ou Tanan is no better closed to foreigners (1).

[113]

1. On the rapid renewal of the population within the "taqbilt," cf. our monographs on Massat (Hespéris, 1924, p. 378), on the Aghbar (Hespéris, 1927, p. 9), on the Ida ou Tanan (Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 225).

The constant renewal of the population is the consequence of famines, sicknesses, exiles, and banishments; new arrivals join the mass of those who have preceded them and who are already established within the precise limits of the "taqbilt." But in this perpetual renewal of the individual elements that constitute the social group, the form of the small state, its frontiers and its structure remain unchanged.

*634 184 IV. The existence of the "taqbilt" or cantons is general throughout the Sous. -- In the region of the Tichka, many "taqbilt" are independent; such are the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Ida Ou Msattog. Others group together to form tribes, like the Ida Ou Mhamoud, the Seksawa, the Demsira, all while keeping their full freedom; it is the same in the part of the territory of the Gedmiwa remaining unsubjugated, on the north versant of the Igdad. The boundaries of former cantons are still very apparent in the whole valley of the Nefis and of the Asif el Mal in the mountains. In all of the country confined between the Nefis and the Bibaoun road, local investigations would permit easily finding again the recollection of a very large number of identical units -- 120 /155/ approximately (1)

[619]

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1. This state of division appears to be very ancient in the region that we have just studied.

/155 cont./

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/Footnote 1 continued./ The chronicler El Beidaq (Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, E. Lévi-Provençal trans., p. 63 and sqq.) shows us, at the beginning of the twelfth century, the Gedmiwa divided into 46 fractions, whose names can be partially identified. The same confederation in our day contains about 30 units. Likewise, the group of the Genfisa, then divided into 22 fractions, has undergone modifications of only little importance; most of the tribes that constituted it are easily found again among the present-day tribes of the Tichka and in our day are still simple independent "fractions"; the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Aït Waggonsan, for example.

-- and each of them had kept its independence or its autonomy up to the middle of the last century.

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More to the west, the three confederated tribes that form the Ida Ou Tanan were originally, probably in the sixteenth century, each made up of ten elementary units; they have varied little since then, and if the strong political organization of this group takes away from its constituent elements part of their activity, the limits of each of them, to which is given the name of "afous," nevertheless remain very precise.

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*[634]
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The confederation of the Haha itself, made up of 12 tribes, has preserved, especially in the region least transformed by the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/, small internal divisions in which we do not doubt finding traces of former "taqbilt." Each tribe is actually divided into fifths, "khoms," which have a territory of about 50 square kilometers and a total population of 500 to 600 hearths grouped into several "jemaᶜa." In truth, in the north

/156 cont./

*634 184 several hundred hearths gathered together in circular villages defended by thorn hedges. Each canton has its own life; its sheik subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ is the successor to the minor amghar of old, formerly independent, who relied on the assembly of family heads. A little higher in the mountains, a few can- [619] tons that form the tribe of the Aït Wadrim on the banks of the Asif n Saghour obey a single chief, but each of them has kept its little council of notables, a senate of six to ten members, which deliberates as in a "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ about everything that touches local interests. Nearer the summits the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is still less advanced and the autonomy of the small states more obvious. At the foot of [619] the Jbel Kest each small tribe, whose dimensions are the same as those that surround the summit of the Tichka in the country of the Seksawa, remains independent: Imediyoun, Tiwazwin, Aït Wignan, Aït Waliad thus have their separate and different constitutions. In each state, according to the local customs, four, five, twelve "inflas" decide war and peace or administer "agadirs" similar to the ones that the autonomous republics of the Sirwa [133] have. The Aït Swab in the vicinity know this same state of division in their country bristling with peaks and hollowed out by canyons, while the little isolated social units of the south versant of the same massif, Agsel, Indrifen, Tafraout, Anmalouz, seem to be the exact replica of the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Ida ou Msattog, which we found lost in the high valleys of the Atlas on the slopes of the Tichka, which dominate the valley of the Sous.

*634 184 • 131 V. Constant dimensions of the territory of the "taqbilt" or canton. /157/ -- What is most striking when one compares in this way in all the South of Morocco these federations of villages to which we give the name of cantons is the equal size of their territory in the various regions of the Sous. Sometimes, especially when the canton is made up of only a single "mouda^{c}," in the most secluded valleys of the high mountains, the soil of the little state occupies scarcely the bottom of a valley and the immediately adjacent slopes; but most often its area is between 20 and 50

*634 /157 cont./
184 square kilometers, and whatever the numerical strength of the
•131 population may be, it does not exceed these dimensions.

It cannot suffice, in order to explain this fractioning into visibly equal units, to invoke the geographic arrangement of the places; as a matter of fact, it is observed in a land divided into regular compartments, as in the high valleys of the Tichka and of the Igdad, as well as in a region of plateaus, for example, to the west of the Sirwa, in the Azilal, or the south of the Haha, or the land of the Ilalen; likewise it exists in the big valleys, such as those of the Nefis or of the Tifnout. The precise reason for this surprising constancy of the dimensions of the "taqbilt" seems to us to have to be sought in the no less invariable nature of its institutions.

*634 In most of the republics whose territory has remained inde-
[174] pendent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ there exist, or there were not long ago, little senates charged with administering the country; numerous indications show us that it was formerly the same in the Berbère /Berber/ regions now submissive. Now, the assembly of
[613] notables, heads of the "ikhs" who people each of the hamlets and who meet whenever the interests of the group are at stake, must be able at any instant to answer the call of its president. Whether
*634 a disturbance breaks out on the border of the territory with a little
721 nearby state over a violation of the pasturage, or a private war is suddenly ignited in the villages, which threatens the harmony among the brothers of the "taqbilt," so that one might fear an attack on the country by outside enemies by means of this disorder, it is immediately necessary to make all the decisions required in view of the combat or of the pacification. The dimensions of the
[131] canton that administers itself are then doubtless determined solely by the maximum distance that allows the notables to meet easily in one day in order to deliberate together.

*634 If this is the case, so that a functional law determines /158/
131 the maximum dimensions of the elementary Berbère state that the
728 canton is, one easily understands that too numerous a "taqbilt," led little by little to go beyond its primitive limits in order to ensure the subsistence of its families, might be constrained to cut

/158 cont./

*634 itself into two parts as soon as it has conquered or absorbed the
•131 neighboring territories and extended its frontiers. This division,
728 which makes one think of the simplest mode of reproduction of the lower beings of the organic world, doubtless then appears spontaneously, at the risk of internal discord. The history of the struggles of the small states of the high mountains would give us numerous examples of such extensions followed by such divisions.

*634 Thus, when a particularly active and bellicose group succeeds in extending itself by degrees and tries to conquer a whole
131 valley, it splits internally. Such is the case of the Aït Haddiyous
728 in the land of the Seksawa. Local traditions represent this group
619 as formed originally by four fractions: the Aït Wasif, Ikourran,
[193] Aït Shaq, Aït Aougga; the first two would have disappeared, worn out by war; the other two would have founded successively the Aït Mousa, Aït Lhasen, Aït ᶜAbdallah, then the Intedan, Awines, Ibouban, Iwoulla, Wanzid, while the rallied foreign groups, the Idma and Tassa, were giving rise to the Aït Mehand (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle (Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the command of the Mtougga).

One moreover easily perceives in this case, -- and it would be easy to cite others throughout the Atlas --, the importance within the canton of the life of each of the smaller social groups, such as the village and the "mouda^{c}"; their numerical growth, the valor of their warriors have as a consequence an extension of the frontiers of the common territory to the detriment of the weakest nearby states; thus the "taqbilt" extends itself little by little and ends up by splitting into new fractions, without the separation of the parts always taking place abruptly. The apparent inequalities of these cantons can sometimes thus be explained.

*634 In this region, certain "taqbilt" almost correspond by their di-
619 mensions to what we usually call tribes, like the Aït Haddiyous
184 or the Imedlaoun, which gather together 600 or more hearths. Other "taqbilt" are fractions of average extent, like the Aït

/164 cont./

619 name, a certain uniformity of existence in an imprecise geo-
616 graphic cadre, and the vague feeling of a common role in an
184 almost forgotten history.

*634 One might wonder whether the inorganic state in which we find the tribes of the Moroccan South at present is primitive; it is
619 permissible to think that they had positive institutions in former
194 times, before being, as in our day, empty cadres within which the cantons live as they like or wage war on one another, being careful only to respect a kind of equilibrium between the opposed forces. It would, in fact, be difficult to grant that such loose associations of small elementary states would have succeeded in existing indefinitely for centuries, if their members had not formerly felt united by a feeling of brotherhood much more intense than today. Blood ties, perhaps adoption rites, clearer memory of a common history, must have contributed to form these groups, which sedentary life, the organization of cantons, the mingling of families later contributed toward dissociating, without, however, succeeding in destroying them completely.

*631 VIII. Various categories of confederations. -- The nature of the confederations, made up of groups of tribes or fractions, is no easier to define than that of the tribes themselves.

These important groups may unite up to eight and ten thousand hearths, distributed over areas too large for the small states that form them always to have a very clear feeling of the unity of the common territory. It is easy to observe, moreover, that
• [131] the boundaries of these higher organisms scarcely correspond to natural frontiers, as among the Chtouka, settled both on plain and mountain, or in former times the Heskoura or Genfisa established in a rather indistinct manner on the two versants of the Atlas, so it is necessary to give up searching in the social group's bond with the soil for the explanation of these aggregates of elementary states.

*631 /165/ If one examines their structure, one can divide the
619 confederations into two classes. Some are made up of tribes,
*634 themselves divided into fractions; the Haha furnish the most

*631 /166/ IX. The historic confederations. -- More positive is
*634 the bond that unites the fractions and tribes in the common and
619 sometimes confused memory of the great historical events in
175 which they took part in a sometimes distant past. We have discussed the role of the great Almohade tribes at the time of the Mahdi Ibn Toumert and the strong organization that they then accepted, to the point that each of them became like one of the columns on which ᶜAbd el Moumen could rest the weight of the Empire, founded in 40 years, from Spain to Tunis. Likewise, the tribes that formed the Hintata until the sixteenth century, or those of the Haha in the nineteenth century, participated totally in conquests or in the exploitation of large commands. But, outside of these glorious periods, the bonds that unite the tribes and the fractions to one another loosen; the confederations hardly know any more than the elementary life of the small states that constitute them. Like certain lower and multicellular organisms of the animal world, they then present no trace of centralization.
*631 But something still survives from the temporary unity that they
*634 knew: slowly pushed from their habitat by the clashes with the
619 latest tribes to arrive in the plain, it happens that in progressively
175 changing territory they nevertheless keep the feeling of their unity.
•131 This was done by the Haha, whose towns in the sixteenth century bordered the Tensift, if one is to believe Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, and who now have the Qsob wadi as their northern frontier. At other times, like the Aït Waouzgit, they advance across the mountains by the great routes of communication; in fact, we see this group of fractions, the greater part of which remains in our day, as in the twelfth century, concentrated around the massif of the Sirwa, moreover extend itself toward the north and reach, by way of the Asif Nefis, the plain of Marrakech (1).

1. In the twelfth century the Aït Waouzgit, entirely distinct from the tribes of the Nefis, were established exclusively around the Sirwa. After a revolt they were divided into two parts and annexed to the Tinmellel and to the Hintata by

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/footnote 1 continued/ order of Abd el Moumen (Documents inédits /Unpublished documents/, pp. 62, 194).

We again find at present a group of Aït /sic/ Waouzgit established on the Jebel Kik, former domain of the Hintata: this is the tribe of the Ouzgita of Agergour. The names of the leffs of the Nefis, the Aït Atman and Aït Iraten, are found again as names of leffs and of fractions in the Sirwa. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the two chiefs of Tagontaft and Telwet still remembered the brotherhood of the Aït Waouzgit of the Nefis and of the Glawa and they invoked it in order to lend each other mutual support at the time of the expedition of the Makhzen /makhzan/ against Tagontaft (cf. below, p. 400).

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But in the course of these periods without glory it also happens that the historical confederations cease to exist: their elements then stand intact but disjointed, thus the tribes of the Tichka, which are the scattered remains /167/ of the Genfisa of the thirteenth century; the tribes of the two versants of the Atlas to the east of the pass of the Glawa, today isolated, formerly formed the Heskoura. The confederations even come very near to disappearing completely when they are worn out by several centuries of external wars. But if an occasion for conquest presents itself anew, as happened to the Haha in the course of the last century, the confederation assembles again under the command of a great chief, again becomes conscious of its unity, and reconstitutes, for some generations, a patrimony of memories and traditions on which the following centuries will live.

*[634]
Except during the periods in which the great historical confederations fall completely under the domination of a single chief, the tribes or the fractions that form them do not have any common institutions. In any event they frequently keep for

/Map facing p. 168 in the original source/

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/192 cont./
*631 of Berbère /Berber/ alliances; /193/ but the latter are still intact
*634 enough for one to find still in our day, on the south versant of
616 the Atlas, the commands of minor sheiks and their zones of in-
[178] fluence tangled together in a form that can be explained only by the distribution of the cantons between the two leffs. Thus the amghar of Talekjont talks with his mountain brothers, Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Igoudachen, while his rival from Talemt sees descending into his casbah the warriors of the Ida ou Kwais, Aggounsan,
[578] Ida ou Msattog. Each minor chief tries to increase his authority by stirring up discord and protecting the stronger ones. In every circumstance he defends and supports his leff brothers against the neighbors, and the reciprocal hate of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" and the "Aït Zolit" is thus concentrated and symbolized in the struggle of the two houses of Talemt and Talekjont at the foot of the Dir.

616 VI. Geographical boundaries of the leffs of the Masmouda.
619 -- When this system of alliances, into which all the mountain
•131 cantons formerly entered, still had all its force, the boundaries of the leffs of the Masmouda appeared more easily than in our day. They were very precise and nearly always marked by natural geographic frontiers. To the West, the "Indghertit" and the "Imsifern" did not overstep the Makhzen route that traverses the Atlas from Imi n Tanout to the Tizi Ma^{c}cho. The Mtougga, Haha (1),

1. The Haha in their totality make use of the "leff" of the Igezzoulen of the Anti-Atlas.

and Ida Ou Tanan, as far as we can go back into the history of their internal wars, seem to have escaped the influence of these two great alliances (2).

2. Doutté has described among the Haha (Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905,

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/193 cont./

/footnote 2 continued/ renseignements coloniaux /colonial information/, p. 15) leffs that are mere temporary associations of tribes or fractions of tribes, such as one sees in all the bled el Makhzen /region under the control of the central government/.

The relations of proximity sometimes barely led the eastern "khoms" or "afous" of these coastal tribes to enter into one of the two leffs of the Masmouda by means of temporary alliances contracted with the Demsira and the Ida ou Mahmoud. Likewise on the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the Ida Ou Zal, Ergita, Mentaga, whose social life is nevertheless analogous to that of the high-mountain tribes, have not kept a precise memory of the institution of the leffs during the last century in the form that we have described; it is above all because of their present-day friendships with some /194/ or others of the neighboring fractions that they place themselves now in the party of the "Aït Zolit" or of the "Ida Ou Zeddagh."

The eastern boundary of the chessboard of the leffs is no less evident in the central Haut-Atlas. Beyond the territory of the Glawa, the great permanent alliances of the Masmouda do not come to merge into the more fragile associations that bind together the fractions of tribes of the Imeghran, Ghojdama, and Fetwaka, even when one tries to go back, to find again the trace of ancient alliances, to the most remote period of which tradition keeps any memory.

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It is not without interest to observe, on the one hand, that the Makhzen's two great penetration routes of the Tizi Ma^{c}cho and of the col of Telwet thus serve as frontier for the ancient leffs and that, on the other hand, the region of the Haha, to the West, and that of the former confederation of the Skourra, to the East, which form the boundary of this state of political division have withstood, because of the invasion of the Arabs from the desert and the Atlantic plains, collision with the most varied tribes for

616 /194 cont./
619 long centuries. One easily understands that this situation may
648 have been able to contribute toward making the balanced opposi-
[131] tion of the two leffs disappear here.

By their traditional policy, the Arab or Arabized tribes of the interior plain of the Sous, Howara, Menabha, and Oulad Yahya, do not enter into the interaction of the mountain leffs. They thus form a kind of screen that isolates the Atlas of the Masmouda from the Anti-Atlas of the Igezzoulen. On the contrary, at the extremity of the Sous plain, the alliances of fractions gain by degrees the massif of the Sirwa and reach as far as the Dra, the Warzazat, and the Dadès (1).

1. The leffs of the Dades and of the upper Dra, Oulad el Mahalli and Beni Zouli, have nearly the same aspect as those of the Masmouda (De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 288-289).

The Arab tribes of the edge of the desert, in the middle course of the Dra, also rally there, but in larger masses, and their inconstancy makes them unreliable auxiliaries. On the contrary, on
[726] the south versant of the Atlas, less than ten years ago, for example in the tribe of the Souktana, since conquered by the Glawa, the violence of the leff combats was still so great that 120 warriors of the leff of the "Igezzoulen" surrounded in the agadir of Ighri and forced by thirst to surrender to their hereditary enemies, the "Isouktan," were slaughtered by their adversaries like sheep.

616 /195/ VII. Liaison between the leffs of the Masmouda and
194 those of the Anti-Atlas. -- It is by way of this region of the Zagmouzen and the Souktana that the liaison of the leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ with those of the Anti-Atlas seems to be made. But in this country it is no longer possible to reconstitute, even at the cost of patient historical investigations, a satisfactory picture of correspondence among the various local alliances so as to find, as we did elsewhere, two opposed parties under various

/198 cont./

*634 616 174 •131 The frontiers of these small states are not actually always determined by geographic accidents; often they run capriciously on the fertile plateaus, in the irrigated valleys, project in a point without apparent reason, and seem to us to be much oftener the limits of expansion of the small groups of families that constitute the "taqbilt" rather than the natural barriers that contain them. [361] Moreover, we can verify the same balanced distribution of the two leffs on the steep slopes of the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ among the Ida ou Zeddagh and the Aït Semmeg; here, however, no geographic division appears to us any more to separate from one another these groups of hamlets established on the inclined flank of the mountain or in the vicinity of springs. It is the same in the region of the Sirwa and the plateaus of the Azilal of the Aït Waouzgit, where the villages press around streamlets of water that have escaped from the volcanic plateau and are separated by immense desert spaces, the same again on the plateau of the Souktana, bereft of natural internal frontiers suitable for separating the "taqbilt." Nevertheless the tribes in these regions are divided into fractions united in two chains of alliances whose appearance is identical with the leffs of the Gedmiwa of the high mountains.

Finally, as we have seen, the divison of the country into opposed cantons, regularly alternated, is still more marked on the passage of the great natural routes of communication and of the valleys such as the Asif Nefis, the Zagmouzen, the Tifnout, as if the absence of geographic boundaries between the Berbère /Berber/ communities had, on the contrary, the effect of reinforcing their respective oppositions and of /199/ distributing the small states in a still more perfect manner between two balanced leffs (1).

[312] [578]

1. Under the circumstances, one could invoke for the irrigated valleys the discords that the use of the water usually entails (compare our study on Massat, Hespéris, 1924, p. 362). It might be that the very frequent disputes that arise from the use of the séguias may have

/199 cont./

*634 616 174 •131 [312] [578]

/footnote 1 continued/ played an important role in the formation of the alliances, for the region of the middle or lower course of the wadis. This argument, however, is worthless in the high mountains where irrigation problems are unimportant and easy to solve.

*634 616 578 174 619

History and ethnography throw only very feeble light on the origins of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. One will not be surprised that this institution has never been, in spite of its importance, described by scholars. Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ scarcely tells us, while reporting the struggles that set the chiefs of the Gedmiwa, of the Seksawa, and of the Hintata against one another in the fourteenth century, that it was only a matter of wars brought on "by the ordinary causes that introduce discord between neighboring tribes, namely: the proximity of their territories and the memory of their former disputes" (2).

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, pp. 267-268.

This is enough for one to suppose that it is a matter of struggles between leffs, but we should like to find some more precise information from the pen of the only historian who would have liked to make known the life of the Berbères /Berbers/.

175 *634 619

Nevertheless, El Beidaq, in his valuable list of the Almohade fractions at the time of the Mahdi (3),

3. El Beidaq, Documents inédits d'Histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 63.

gives us some interesting information. The Gedmiwa, he tells us, include 46 fractions: the Aït Yalmazdog -- vanished today, then the "Banou Masifra," "who pass in review first"; next, the "Inad Ghertit," "who are mountain Gedmiwa." Thus we see figuring in

[616]

/Left side of map facing p. 200 in the original source/

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Aspect of the leffs
in a part of the Haut Atlas, the Sirwa, and the Anti Atlas

Scale 1/600,000

/see next page for explanation of boxes/

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2: Montagne--262 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shlub MW11

/Explanation for map facing p. 200 in the original source/

Aspect of the leffs
in a part of the Haut Atlas, of the Sirwa, and of the Anti Atlas

Scale 1/600,000

Zone 1. Region peopled by Arab tribes who do not have stable leffs

Zone 2. Region of the leffs of the western Atlas

Ait Atman Ait Iraten (Asif Nefis)	Indghertit Imsifern (Seksawa, Gedmiwa)	Ait Fademt Ait Tzeggout (Ouzgita of the Kik, Gheghaya, Ourika)	Ait Zolit Ida ou Zeddagh (So. versant of the Haut Atlas)	

Zone 3. Region of the leffs of the Ait Waouzgit and of the Glaoua

- Inemzel . . . . .
- Ait Iraten . . . . .

Zone 4. Region of the leffs of the Anti Atlas

- Isouktan . . . . .
- Igezzoulen . . . . .

Zone 5. Region of the leffs of the Tifnout and of the Azilal (Ait Waouzgit)

- Ait Atman . . . . .
- Ait Tintlet . . . . .

2: Montagne--263 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Center part of map facing p. 200 in the original source/

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Imeshwen
(Meshwa)
Isouktan
(Souktana)
Ait
Waouzgit
(Ouzgita)
Iyouriken
(Ouriga)
Ighighain
(Ighighaya)
Ogdemt
Onein
Sammegh
Ait Hamid
Ait Yahya
Ait Waggas
Ait Simon
Id Willoun
Ait Tazzemt
Ait Abdelwinit
Imadidan
Intaoun
Tinfat
Isouktan
(Souktana)
Ait Hamid
Ilaouman
Ounzin
Azrar
Isozen
Ighghadiyoun
Imgharbiyn
Ait Ighriten
Ait Outadjoun
Ait Abdallah
Ait Haghir
Ait Semgan
Ait Tagmant
Ait Mlal
Ait Ouhalt
Ait Mesr
Ait Isger
Ait Tamgounit
Ait Rba
Ait Wamoumou
Ait Tagsin
Ait Tsilit
Ait Tamedrist
Ait Bouida
Ait Qaila
Ait Tagit n Ait Iskirol
Ait Tamellalt
Ait Ouaghar
Ait Ouzzar
Ait Tsouka
Ait Tsemlal
Ait Bou Beser
Ait Ouaghar
Ait Tsouka
Ait Tsemlal
Ait Bou Beser

2: Montagne--264 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Right side of map facing p. 200 in the original source/

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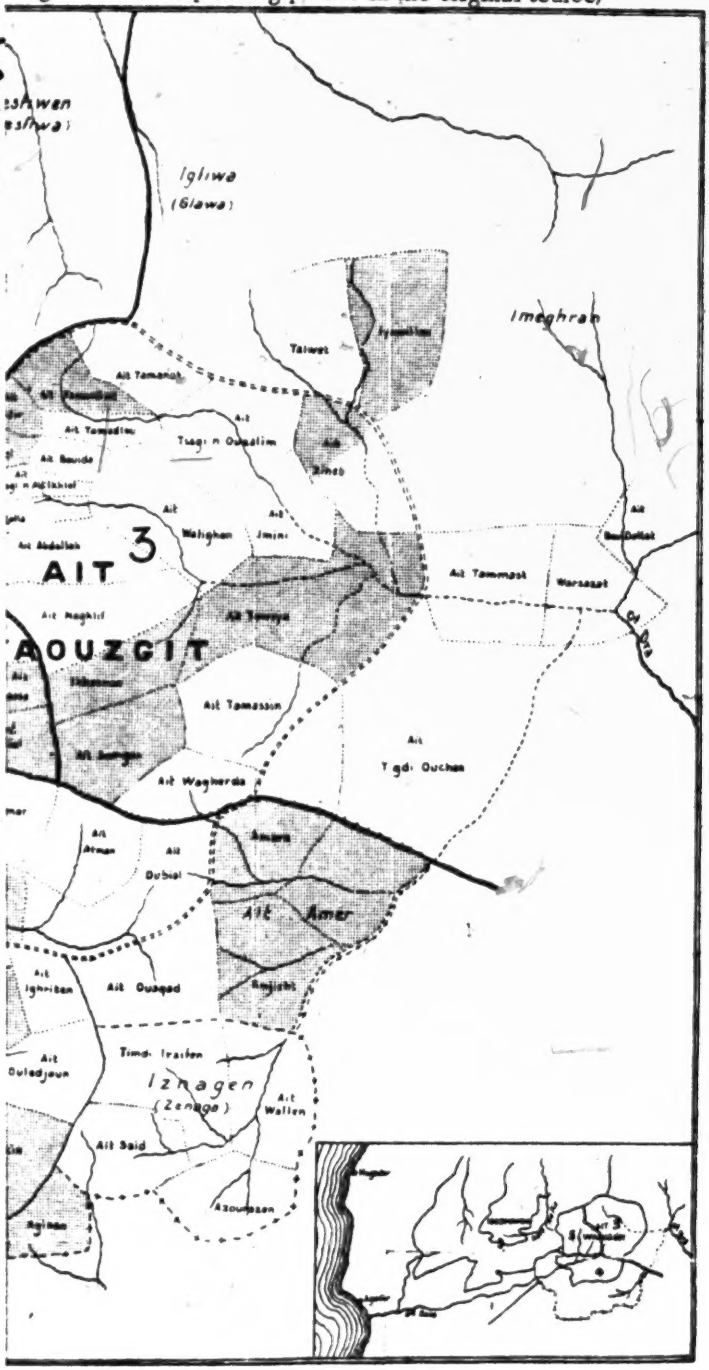

/202 cont./

101 The "Aoggwa" (1)
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1. The Aoggwa appear to us to have been an ancient Berbère /Berber/ tribe of the Sous. Their name is found at various points of the country (Unpublished notes of F. de la Chapelle on the mountain tribes of the Mtougga command).

are formed by most of the tribes that are found nowadays on the western routes of penetration of the mountains. From the plain [131] of the Chtouka they extend on the one hand toward Tiznit, the [491] Oulad Jerrar, the Aït Brihim, the Ifran, by the coast trail; on the other hand they go up toward the summits by way of the Aït Mzal, the Ida Ou Ktir, and the Ammeln, where they follow the transverse road that leads from the Sous plain toward Tamanart and Tizounin.

616 On the plains, in the vicinity of the Ocean, it is not rare
619 that a tribe is divided between the two leffs, but on the whole,
184 especially in the western Anti-Atlas, it is entire tribes or even confederations that enter into one or the other of the alliances. On the contrary, in the East, the units that form the leffs of the Igezzoulen and Isouktan scarcely exceed the scope of a canton. Ch. de Foucauld had already observed this more intimate mixture in the Saharan oases at Tatta, Tissint, and in the tribe of the Inda Ou Zal; but on the evidence of incomplete information he believed in the existence of a bloc of "Isouktan" embracing the Aït Semmeg, the Souktana, Zenaga, and Aït Amer. In go-
616 ing around the country we were able to convince ourselves of the
619 state of division of the two leffs in the very tribe of the Souktana that gives its name to one of the parties (2).

[101] 2. In order to avoid confusion we shall employ here the Arabic form "Souktana" to designate the tribe of this name, to the south

/Left side of map facing p. 202 in the original source/

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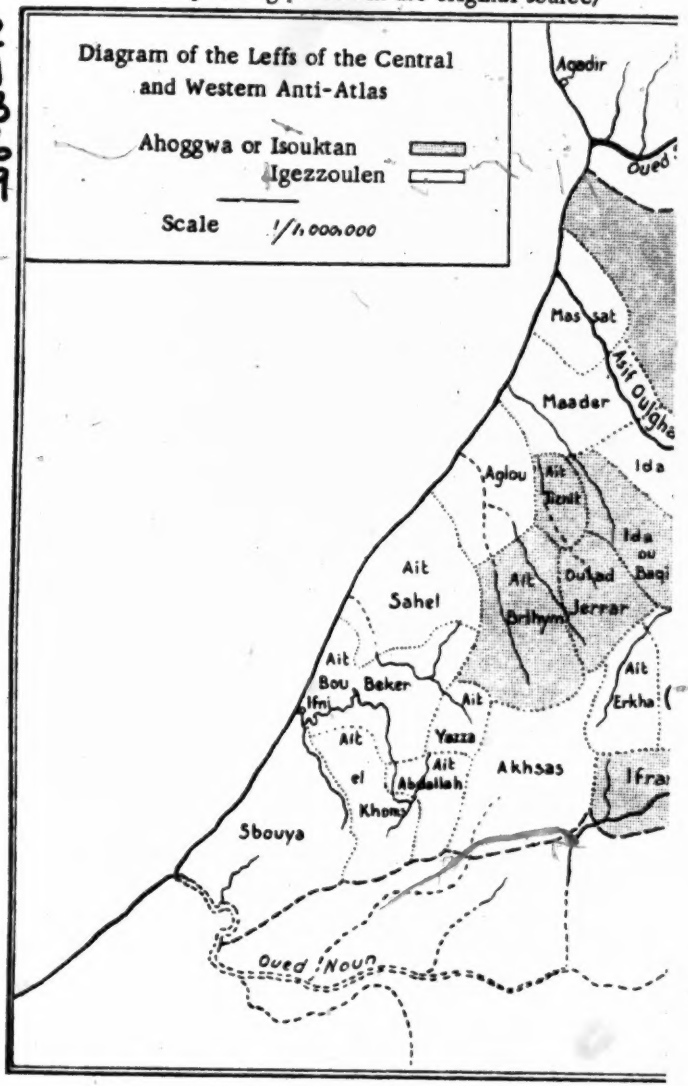

/Central part of map facing p. 202 in the original source/

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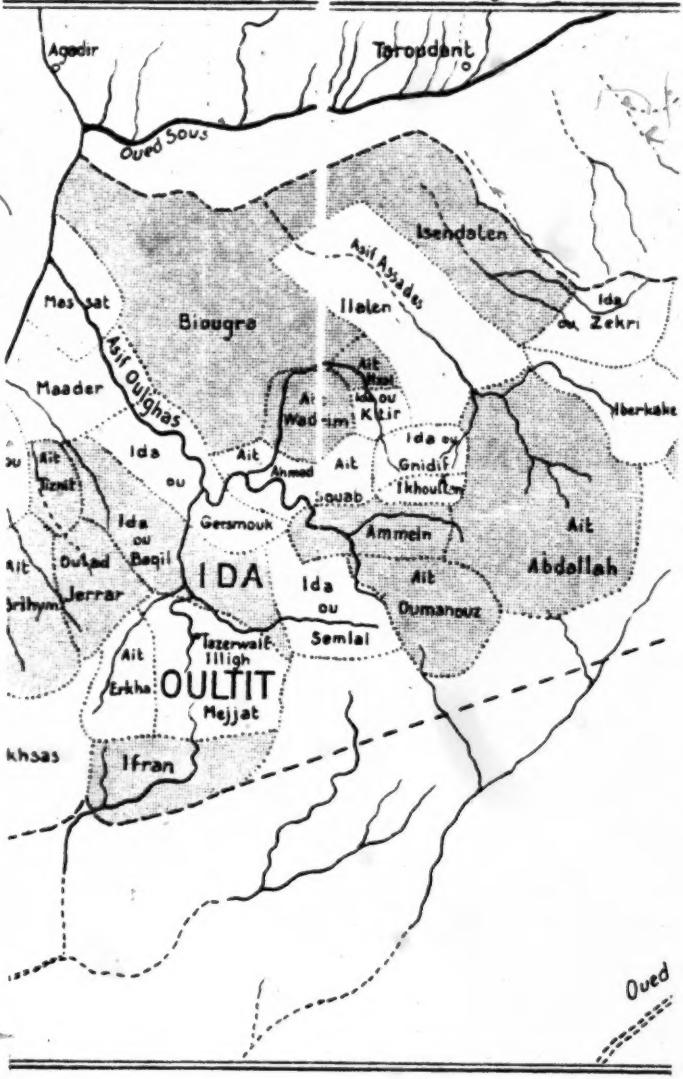

/Right side of map facing p. 202 in the original source/

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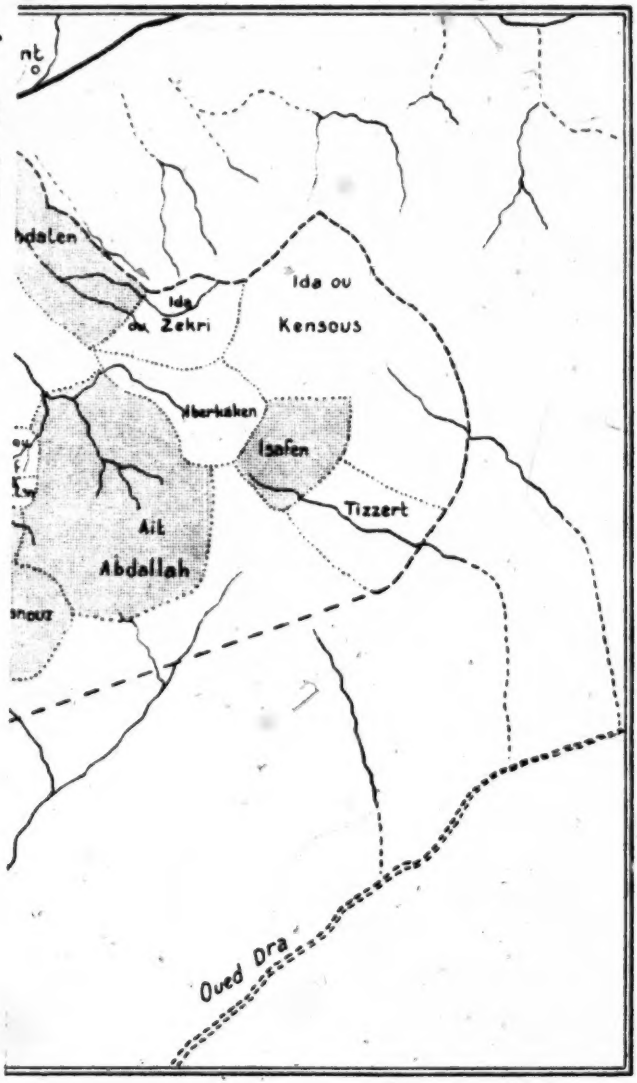

/Left side of map facing p. 278 in the original source/

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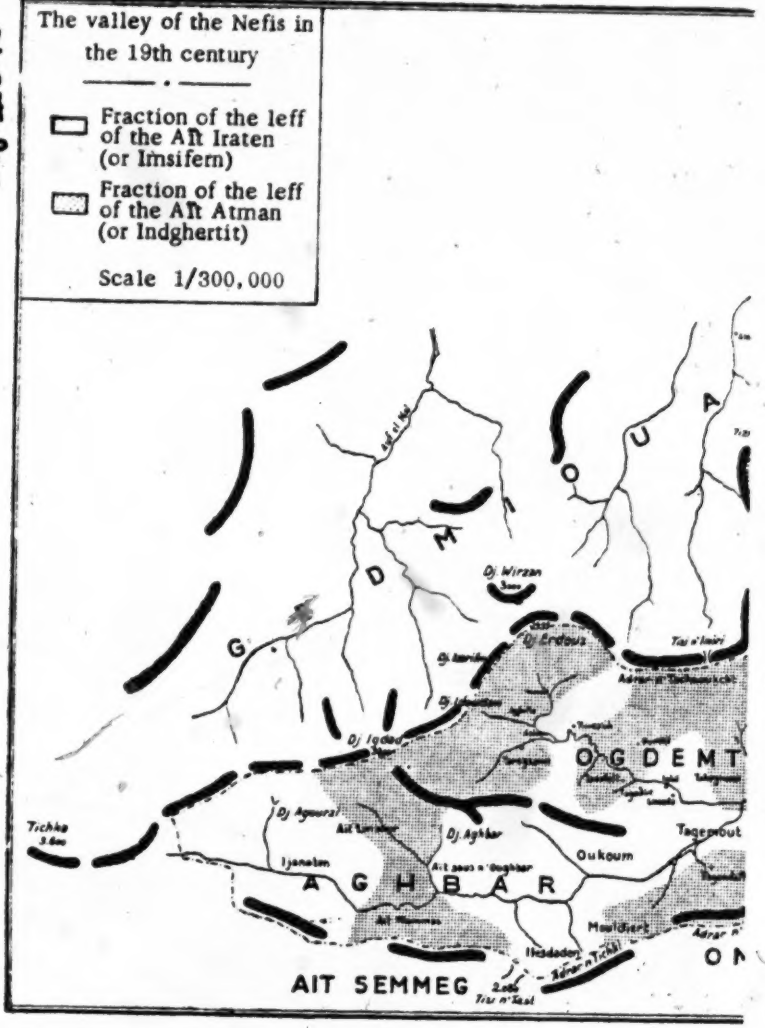
The valley of the Nefis in the 19th century
Fraction of the left of the Aït Iraten (or Imsifern)
Fraction of the left of the Aït Atman (or Indghertit)
Scale 1/300,000
G D E L O U A
Dj Wirzan
Dj Erdous
Dj Iqdad
O G D E M T
Dj Aguersi
Dj Aghbar
Tagemout
Oukoum
A G H B A R
AIT SEMMEG

2: Montagne--370 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Right side of map facing p. 278 in the original source/

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*631 •131 XI. The minor chiefs of the oases of the South. -- One might be tempted to regard the minor chiefs of the desert oases that exist on the south versant of the Anti-Atlas, in the Moyen-Dra /Middle Dra/ and the Dadès, at the boundary of the country inhabited by the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of the mountains of the Sous, as amghars similar to the ones whose appearance and first successes we have just studied here.

*631 642 It seems, however, that in this region other influences are being exerted, of a quite different nature, which favor the establishment and consolidation of that "despotic power" described so well by de Foucauld (2).

2. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 111, 127, 128, 131, 145.

*631 *634 1177 The social milieu, in fact, appears to be more propitious for the persistence of large families in the vicinity of the Sahara. Among the Zenaga, the Ida Ou Blal, the ʿAÎt Amer, the Mesgita, where small dynasties of amghars have been firmly established for long generations, Arab influences are numerous, and the hereditary transmission of command is one of the most constant characteristics of the social organization of the nomad groups (3).

3. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, pp. 704, 705.

613 554 675 Besides, there exist in these regions other institutions whose role easily explains the importance assumed by the heads of the "ikhs," powerful and brave: individual protection and vassalage. Near the desert the necessities of trade and travel in fact lead to the conclusion of pacts with notables capable of having the life and property of foreigners respected; these are true contracts, to which the name of "debiha" is given, and the power of a sheik is measured by the number of "debiha" that he possesses, whether he has accepted them directly or inherited them.

/Left side of map facing p. 308 in the original source/

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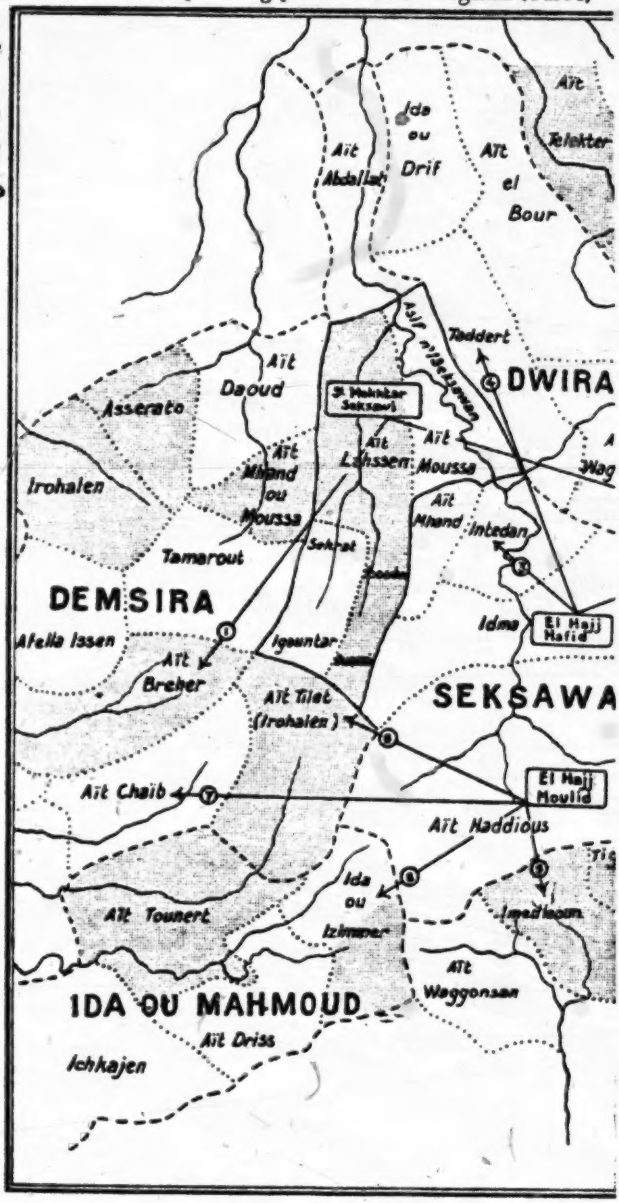

2: Montagne--407 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Center portion of map facing p. 308 in the original source/

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/Right side of map facing p. 308 in the original source/

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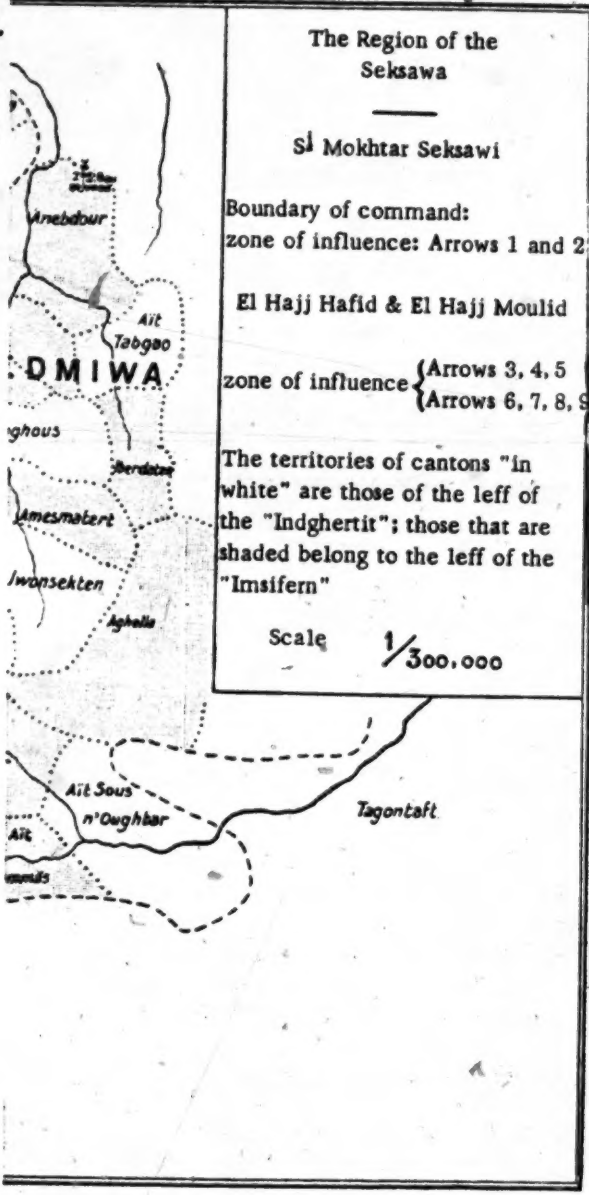

/315 cont./

*631 *634 616 V. The minor chiefs of the Aït Waouzgit. -- The study of the politics of the chiefs of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa is not as simple as that of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, for the leffs of this region are less stable and more broken; and perhaps their lines of rupture are explained by the quarrels of the amghars established around the Sirwa for several centuries (1).

1. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. III, p. 252.

[184] Without entering here into a detailed study of these small commands, whose origins, moreover, are still poorly known, it will suffice for us, by indicating their importance, to show that the position of these chiefs with respect to the tribes is identical with that of their rivals of the Atlas properly speaking.

175 *631 In the reign of Sidi Mohammed and of Moulay el Hasan, semi-independent minor chiefs who are /316/ the true masters of the Feija appear (1).

•[131] 1. By this name of Feija, in the mouths of the functionaries of the Makhzen /makhzan/, one should understand the whole steppe that extends between the south versant of the Atlas and the desert, beyond the Warzazat. But, within the country, the term of Feija designates only the plain neighboring the Zenaga.

*[634] [616] [648] We know very few things about the constitution of their command. It is certain only that the Zanifi, amghar of Tazenakht, dominated the cantons of both leffs. In 1864, however, he was thrown into prison by the Sultan, who had led an expedition against him, in which most of the Masmoudian tribes and their kaids participated; it was then that the kaid of the Glawa received at intervals the mission of going to collect the tax at the head of the harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/, sharing this charge with the kaids of Demnat.